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FREER GALLERY OF ART

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A DESCRIPTIVE AND ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE
OF
MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF THE
JAINA KALPASŪTRA

AS EXECUTED IN THE
EARLY WESTERN INDIAN STYLE

(WITH 45 PLATES)

BY

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PREFACE

The history of Early Western Indian miniature painting has been outlined by me in my book *The Story of Kālaka*,¹ and illustrative examples have been reproduced in the plates. The most prolific sources of material for that school of miniature painting are the numerous paper manuscripts of two Śvetāmbara Jain works entitled the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakācāryakathā*. The miniatures of the latter are presented in my book cited above; those of the former provide the subject of the present volume. The frequency with which the Jains illustrated these works and the comparative rarity of illustrations in other works are mentioned in my *Story of Kālaka*, and the point may be indicated graphically by referring to the fact that among the 3,507 manuscripts lying in the Jain libraries of Limbdi² only manuscripts of these two texts are listed as bearing illustrations. It is true that manuscripts of other Jain texts sometimes carry paintings in this style, but the number of their illustrations is few and the subjects as far as I have observed are limited to Tirthankaras, monks, gods, goddesses, laymen, and laywomen. No other Jain work has yet been reported with illustrations in this style that represent a series of events narrated in the accompanying text. Outside the Jain environment there are known at least two texts illustrated with series of miniatures done in the same style, namely the *Vasanta Vilāsa* (now owned by the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.) and the *Māgha Purāṇa*, but so far only one manuscript of each has been published. Of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakācāryakathā*, however, dozens, possibly hundreds, of illustrated manuscripts are in existence; of these two works the *Kalpasūtra* is the commoner, and the number of events it illustrates is at the same time the greater. The *Kalpasūtra* is, therefore, the storehouse par excellence of examples of this school of painting.

Miniatures from the *Kalpasūtra* have been previously published chiefly by Dr. W. Hüttemann, who gave examples in color and in black and white from a single manuscript in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, who gave black and white reproductions of the miniatures contained in a number of manuscripts belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.³ In neither of these publications was the author able to illustrate from his materials as many scenes as are available in the manuscripts now lying in the United States. In addition, neither author succeeded in identifying correctly all the scenes he had before him. Dr. Hüttemann gave full descriptions of a few of the scenes he reported; Dr. Coomaraswamy gave only very brief indications of the subject matter. My present work aims to present at least one example of every scene illustrated in the *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts known to me in the United States, and to give sufficient explanation to make the

¹ Brown, W. Norman, *The Story of Kālaka*, chap. II, pp. 13 ff. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, *Oriental Studies* No. 1, 1933. Examples of this school of painting are now known from A.D. 870 (see *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, vol. 53, p. 309, 1933).

² The catalogue is entitled: *Limbḍīnā Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāraṇī Hastalikhita Pratiṇaṇḍā Sūcīpatra*, Bombay, Āgamodaya Samiti, 1928.

³ For precise bibliographical references see below, p. 2.

painting fully intelligible. Presumably the scenes offered will exemplify almost the entire number illustrated in those Kalpasūtra manuscripts that employ the Early Western Indian style of painting.⁴ A few points in some of the paintings are still not clear to me; but taken as a whole this work should form a guide to the Kalpasūtra miniatures, by means of which almost any scene in any series of manuscript illustrations of that work executed in that style can be identified at a glance without the necessity for special research.

In the preparation of this work, I have been aided above all by the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, which has gone to the greatest trouble to assemble for me materials and photographs. Its own beautiful manuscript of the Kalpasūtra provides the basis of the catalogue, and photographs it obtained for me from other sources have made it possible for the work to attain whatever degree of completeness it may possess. To Mr. J. Ellerton Lodge, Curator of the Freer Gallery, goes my especial gratitude for interest, sympathy, advice, and judgment in selecting my illustrations; and to Miss Grace Dunham Guest, Assistant Curator, my appreciation of her patient cooperation in collecting materials.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has generously assisted me with the full use of its valuable manuscripts, and in this connection I have also to thank Dr. Coomaraswamy, Curator of the Indian section there, who took great pains to see that I got all that I wanted.

The Heeramanek Galleries, New York, have been equally generous in providing me with material, and my debt can easily be estimated by glancing at the list of their manuscripts from which I have drawn (see in my Introduction).

The Cleveland Museum of Art gave me unhindered use of its fine manuscript belonging to the Edward L. Whittemore Collection.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, and the Detroit Institute of Arts, each of which owns one or more miniatures of this school, placed their materials at my disposal.

Dr. Helen M. Johnson has been kind enough to read over my book in manuscript and give me the benefit of her scholarship.

Last of all, I must acknowledge a debt to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, on which I had the honor to hold a fellowship during the years 1928 to 1929. The study that I was specifically appointed by the Foundation to pursue is represented by my book, *The Story of Kālaka*, but the opportunity afforded me by the Foundation was also used for the study of manuscripts of the Kalpasūtra in Europe and India and especially of the Early Western Indian style of miniature painting, and the present work is therefore in part a consequence of the Foundation's generosity.

W. NORMAN BROWN.

MOYLAN, PENNSYLVANIA, February 3, 1934.

⁴ There are also manuscripts illustrated in the later, Rajput-Mughal, style of painting.

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BY W. NORMAN BROWN

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Pennsylvania Museum of Art*

(WITH 45 PLATES)

INTRODUCTION

The Kalpasūtra,¹ a canonical work of the Śvetāmbara Jains, is in three parts. The first is the Jinacarita, "Lives of the Jinas (Victors, Saviors)"; it carries by far the greatest number of illustrations. The second is the Sthavirāvalī, "Succession of Pontiffs," which is less abundantly illustrated. The third is the Sāmācārī, "Rules for Monks at the Paryuṣaṇā Season"; this has the fewest illustrations. The character of the different parts of the Kalpasūtra will be made sufficiently evident for our purposes in the material included with the specific description of the illustrations.

The paintings are to a large extent clichés in motif and composition, but within those limits great variation was allowed the individual artists. Thus a single scene may be represented with a number of minor variations, as that of Krishna endeavoring to bend Ariṣṭanemi's arm (figs. 104, 105). So, too, the quality of different artists' work varies greatly, as can readily be seen from the illustrations reproduced in this book.

The general character of Early Western Indian miniature painting has already been described by me.² A few additional remarks should be made here with reference to the Kalpasūtra specifically. The costumes are entirely Indian. In the case of lay figures the paintings give interesting examples of contemporary textile designs in Gujarat. But in the case of monks and nuns, it is doubtful if the various designs of white or red dots and lines over a gold background represent patterns in the material of the robes. The use of these dots and lines over gold was an accepted technique of depicting the white robe (cf. the use of gold for white in fig. 21), and alternated with the use of pure white in those manuscripts that employ a yellow paint instead of gold. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries the monks probably, as now, wore the white robe unrelieved by pattern, except occasionally for a colored stripe along the end.

The distinction between male and female lay figures is not always easy to observe, except for the marks on the forehead. Women usually wear the spot (*tilaka*); men

¹ For the literary history of the Kalpasūtra see M. Winternitz, *Die buddhistische Litteratur und die heiligen Texte der Jainas* (Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, 2 Band, Leipzig, 1920), pp. 309 f. The language of the work is Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit. In the second (translated into English) and revised edition of Professor Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1933), the Kalpasūtra is discussed on pp. 462-464.

² Br chap. II (pp. 13-24); Br EA (171-179). For abbreviations see below, pp. 3-4.

wear the U-shaped line, which is sometimes crossed by three horizontal lines. A failure to note this point precisely has sometimes led to wrong interpretation; for example, it is clear that the king's attendants were male, not female as has been said.³ There are occasional exceptions to the general practice of forehead marking, as when King Siddhārtha wears the *tilaka* (fig. 34). Monks have no forehead mark at all, or else wear the *tilaka*; Tīrthankaras have either the *tilaka* or the U-sign. Nuns seem to bear no forehead mark, but they can always be distinguished from monks by the treatment of the robe, which covers the whole body and extends up behind the neck and head, while with monks it leaves one shoulder bare and stops at the neck. Lay-women regularly wear a bodice. Men, like women, have long hair. (See fig. 40.)

The manuscripts from which I have drawn my illustrations are 14 in number, all paper, of which the oldest (Hf) is dated = A.D. 1460, and the next oldest (M18.104) is dated = A.D. 1462.⁴ From some I have selected many paintings; from others only a few. In giving citations I indicate the manuscript, the folio number, and the side of the folio, whether recto (r) or verso (v). The manuscripts are listed below, with my abbreviations.

- B.17.2276 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. MS. of the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakācāryakathānaka. 106 folios, with 17 miniatures (15 of the Kalpasūtra; 2 of the Kālakācāryakathānaka). Not dated, possibly fifteenth century. Figures 3, 10, 36, 47 (total of 4).
- B17.2277 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. MS. of the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakasūrikathānaka. 78 folios, with 34 miniatures (28 of the Kalpasūtra; 6 of the Kālakasūrikathānaka). Dated Saṃvat 1554 = A.D. 1497. Figures 7, 19, 46, 48, 49, 132, 145 (total of 7).
- B17.2278 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. MS. of the Kalpasūtra (Jinacarita and Sthavirāvalī only). 107 folios, with 27 miniatures. Not dated, probably sixteenth century. Figures 93, 131, 141 (total of 3).
- B22.364 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. 147 folios (nos. 16, 29, 43 missing), with 39 miniatures. Dated = A.D. 1494. Figures 12, 133, 134, 147 (total of 4).
- Cleve Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore Collection. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. Originally of more than 76 folios (nos. 1, 47, 69-72, and some after 76 missing), with 24 preserved miniatures. Not dated, probably fifteenth century. Figures 41, 71, 98 (total of 3).
- Fr Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā. 124 folios, with 50 miniatures (43 of the Kalpasūtra; 7 of the Kālakācāryakathā). Not dated, probably fifteenth century (for a full page of this MS. in full color see Br pl. 12). Figures 2, 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 18, 42, 50, 51, 53, 55, 58, 61, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 77, 80, 81, 90, 96, 100, 103, 108, 111, 115, 119, 124, 128, 130, 136, 139, 146, 150, 151, 152 (total of 40).

³ Statement in C 35 (for explanation of abbreviation see p. 3). There is also no reason to believe that women observed seclusion as stated in C 75.

⁴ Some older dated illustrated paper MSS. of the Kalpasūtra are mentioned in the following places: Velankar, Catalogue of MSS. in Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Library, no. 1429, dated = A.D. 1415; Jacobi, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, p. 28, Leipzig, 1879, a MS. dated = A.D. 1427; MS. no. 512 in the Limbdī catalogue (see above, Preface, note 2), dated = A.D. 1457. I once published examples from a paper MS. as of A.D. 1147, but the date is false (see Br 20); Dr. Hirananda M. Sastri, in Jaina Gazette (Madras), vol. 28, p. 113, 1932, claims to have illustrated paper MSS. of the eleventh century, but offers no evidence. Of palm-leaf MSS. illustrating scenes from the Kalpasūtra I know two: one of the "thirteenth century" (specific date not given) used for five illustrations in full color in C. J. Shah, Jainism in North India 800 B.C.-A.D. 526, 1932, corresponding to our figures 4, 81, 87, 97 and 100, 130; the second is dated Saṃvat 927 = A.D. 870, and has five illustrations corresponding to our figures 2, 3 (in place in text but in representation more like our figure 150), 58, 146, 80.

- Ha Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā. 162 folios (nos. 52 and 53 missing, with their nos. written on no. 51; 2 folios bearing no. 28), with 87 miniatures (79 of the Kalpasūtra; 8 of the Kālakācāryakathā). Not dated, probably sixteenth century. Figures 5, 8, 11, 20, 34, 35, 38, 39, 45, 52, 59, 62, 63, 66, 69, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 94, 97, 101, 102, 106, 109, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 123, 125, 126, 127, 135, 137, 138, 140 (total of 42).
- Hb Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. 141 folios (nos. 1, 2, 139 missing; no. 2 has been recopied), with 43 miniatures. Not dated, probably sixteenth century. Figures 17, 43, 91, 99, 110, 121 (total of 6).
- Hc Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. 129 folios, with 50 miniatures. Dated Saṃvat 1577=A.D. 1520. Figures 15, 104 (total of 2).
- Hd Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra with commentary. 75 folios, with 20 miniatures and spaces reserved for many others that were not painted in. Dated Saṃvat 1559=A.D. 1502. Figures 40, 142 (total of 2).
- He Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. 147 folios, with 48 miniatures. Dated Saṃvat 1569=A.D. 1512. Figures 95, 105, 107 (total of 3).
- Hf Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā. 82 folios, with 24 miniatures (19 of the Kalpasūtra, and 5 of the Kālakācāryakathā). Dated Saṃvat 1517=A.D. 1460. Figure 74 (total of 1).
- Hg Heeramanek Galleries, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra. 143 folios, with 64 miniatures. Not dated, probably late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Figures 1, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 44, 54, 56, 57, 60, 65, 75, 76, 83, 89, 92, 120, 122, 129, 143, 144, 148, 149 (total of 34).
- M18.104 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. MS. of the Kalpasūtra, originally having 78 folios. 7 miniatures from this MS. are in the Metropolitan, 2 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MS. 19.142), 1 in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, and 1 in the Detroit Institute of Arts. Dated Saṃvat 1519=A.D. 1462. Figure 118 (total of 1).

The works of reference most frequently cited in this volume are listed below with the abbreviations I employ:

- AS The Ācārāṅgasūtra. Cited by section. The citations are accompanied by references to Jacobi's translation (see below under "Jtr"), which is cited by page.
- Bl The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919. Analysis of Bhāvadevasūri's Pārśvanāthacaritra. Cited by page.
- Br W. Norman Brown, The Story of Kālaka. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies No. 1, 1933. Cited by page.
- BrEA W. Norman Brown, Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India, Eastern Art, vol. 2, 1930, pp. 167-206. Cited by page and figure.
- C Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part IV, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1924. Cited by page and plate.
- CA Jarl Charpentier, Studien über die indische Erzählliteratur. 4. Devendra's *ṭikā* zu Uttarajjhayaṇa XXII. Ein jainistischer Beitrag zur Kṛṣṇa-Sage, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 64, pp. 397-429, 1910. Has the story of Ariṣṭanemi, or Nemi, the twenty-second Tīrthakara. Cited by page.
- CP Jarl Charpentier, Die Legende des heiligen Pārśva, des 23. Tīrthakara der Jainas. Aus Devendra's *ṭikā* zu Uttarādhyayana XXIII. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 69, pp. 321-359, 1915. Cited by page.
- Gl Helmuth von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus. Berlin: Alf Häger, 1925. Cited by page and plate.
- Hü Wilhelm Hüttemann, Miniaturen zum Jinacaritra, Bässler-Archiv, vol. 4, pp. 47-77, 1914. Cited by page and figure.

- Jo Helen M. Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, vol. I, *Ādiśvaracaritra*, translated into English. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 51.) Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Translation of "R" (see below). Cited by page.
- Jpa H. Jacobi's introductory analysis of "PP" (see below). Cited by page.
- Jtr H. Jacobi, *Gaiṇa Sūtras*, translated from Prakrit. Part I. The *Ākārāṅga Sūtra*; The *Kalpa Sūtra*. (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 22.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884. The translation occasionally needs rectification. Cited by page.
- Kirfel W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1920. Cited by page.
- KS H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, edited with an Introduction, Notes, and a *Prākṛit-Saṃskṛit Glossary*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, VII Band, no. 1.) Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1879. The abbreviation "KS" is used only for the *Jinacarita*; "KSsth" is used for the *Stavirāvalī*; and "KSsām" for the *Sāmācārī*. Cited by section.
- KSsām *Kalpasūtra*, *Sāmācārī*. See under "KS".
- KSsth *Kalpasūtra*, *Sthavirāvalī*. See under "KS".
- M *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra: Parva 10, *Mahāvīrasvāmicaritra* (the Sanskrit text). Bhavnagar: Jainadharmaprasāraśabhā, 1908. Cited by canto (*sarga*) and stanza.
- PP H. Jacobi, *Sthavirāvalī Charita*, or *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, being an appendix of the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā Puruṣa Charita* by Hemachandra. The Sanskrit text with an introductory analysis. Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 1891. Cited by canto (*sarga*) and stanza.
- PSM Har Govind Das T. Sheth, *Pāīa-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*. 4 vols. Calcutta: Har Govind Das T. Sheth, 1923-28. A Prakrit-Hindi dictionary.
- R *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra: Parva 1, *Ādiśvaracaritra* (the Sanskrit text). Bhavnagar: Jainadharmaprasāraśabhā, 1904. Cited by canto (*sarga*) and stanza.
- Sh C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India, 800 B.C.-A.D. 526*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932. Cited by page and plate.

In the remainder of this volume I present the illustrations with my explanatory comment on the pages facing the plates. The story opens with the life of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth of the Jain Tīrthankaras (Saviors), then goes to the life of Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthankara, then to that of Ariṣṭanemi (or Nemi) the twenty-second. The Tīrthankaras from the twenty-second back to the second are mentioned but no stories are told concerning them. The text then takes up the life of Ṛṣabha (or Ādiśvara), the first Tīrthankara. With this the *Jinacarita* is concluded. There follows the *Sthavirāvalī*, an enumeration of the *Sthaviras* (pontiffs) of the order founded by Mahāvīra. Finally comes the *Sāmācārī*, the rules for monks at the *Paryuṣaṇā* season.

My method is to cite the pertinent sections of KS, giving as much of the story as is necessary to make the picture clear. When KS is too brief for clarity, as is often the case, I draw information from other sources. Then follows a description of the painting and any further comment that seems to me useful. Reference is also made to similar scenes published elsewhere.

Many scenes are reproduced in varying, synonymous examples, to illustrate the scene's chief variations. The paintings are generally accompanied by marginal legends in Sanskrit, often bad, or Gujarati, which I quote when they help.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE 1

- FIG. 1. (Hg,2r) The five auspicious events in Mahāvīra's life.
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3. (B17.2276,2) A Tīrthankara as teacher.
4. (Fr,2r) A Tīrthankara and the eight auspicious symbols.

PLATE 2

- FIG. 5. (Ha,4v) The Brāhmaṇī Devānandā on her couch.
6. (Fr,3v) Devānandā and the fourteen lucky dreams.
7. (B17.2277,5) Śakra on throne, with court.

PLATE 3

- FIG. 8. (Ha,9r) Śakra on throne, with court.
9. (Fr,9r) Śakra reverences Mahāvīra's embryo.
10. (B17.2276,9) Śakra reverences Mahāvīra's embryo.

PLATE 4

- FIG. 11. (Ha,16r) Śakra commands Hariṇaigameṣin.
12. (B22.364,18) Śakra commands Hariṇaigameṣin.
13. (Hg,16v) Śakra's command.
14. (Fr,14v) Hariṇaigameṣin removes the embryo from Devānandā's womb.

PLATE 5

- FIG. 15. (Hc,21v) Hariṇaigameṣin carrying the embryo.
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17. (Hb,23v) Triśalā on her couch.

PLATE 6

- FIG. 18. (Fr,18r) Triśalā and the fourteen lucky dreams.
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21. (Hg,23v) The elephant.

PLATE 7

- FIG. 22. (Hg,25r) The bull.
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25. (Hg,27v) The garland.

PLATE 8

- FIG. 26. (Hg,28v) The moon.
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PLATE 9

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 32. (Hg,33v) The jewel heap.
 33. (Hg,34r) The fire.

PLATE 10

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 35. (Ha,35r) Triśalā relates her dreams to Siddhārtha, who expounds them.
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 37. (Hg,39v) Siddhārtha's servants erect a throne.

PLATE 11

- FIG. 38. (Ha,39r) Sunrise.
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 42. (Fr,29r) Siddhārtha's toilet.
 43. (Hb,40r) Siddhārtha's toilet.

PLATE 13

- FIG. 44. (Hg,42r) Siddhārtha's toilet.
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 46. (B17.2277,22) Siddhārtha dispatches messengers.

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PLATE 15

- FIG. 50. (Fr,32r) Siddhārtha tells Triśalā the meaning of the dreams.
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PLATE 17

- FIG. 57. (Hg,54v) Rejoicing in the palace.
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 59. (Ha,59v) Mahāvīra's birth.
 60. (Hg,56v) The goddesses arrive.

PLATE 18

- FIG. 61. (Fr,41r) Mahāvīra's lustration and bath at birth.
 62. (Ha,63v) Siddhārtha commands a festival.
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 64. (Fr,44r) Vigil on the sixth night after birth.

PLATE 19

- FIG. 65. (Hg,62v) Purification ceremonies on eleventh day after birth.
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 67. (Fr,46v) The youthful Mahāvīra and the jealous god.

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 71. (Cleve,35v) Mahāvīra gives away his possessions.

PLATE 21

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PLATE 22

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PLATE 23

- FIG. 78. (Ha,74r) Mahāvīra's austerities.
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- FIG. 81. (Fr,56r) Mahāvīra as a Siddha.
 82. (Ha,82r) Indrabhūti Gautama's omniscience.
 83. (Hg,76v) *a.* Indrabhūti Gautama's omniscience.
b. Mahāvīra as a Siddha.

PLATE 25

- FIG. 84. (Ha,82v) The festival of lights.
 85. (Ha,84v) Mahāvīra with his community.
 86. (Ha,85r) Mahāvīra preaching to monks and nuns.

PLATE 26

- FIG. 87. (Ha,88v) Pārśva in the Prāṇatakālpa heaven.
 88. (Ha,89r) King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā in Benares.
 89. (Hg,78v) *a.* Vāmā conceives Pārśva.
b. Three nuns.

PLATE 27

- FIG. 90. (Fr,62r) *a.* Pārśva's birth.
b. Pārśva's lustration and bath at birth.
 91. (Hb,81v) *a.* Pārśva's birth.
b. Pārśva gives away his possessions.
 92. (Hg,82v) The five auspicious events in Pārśva's life.

PLATE 28

- FIG. 93. (B17.2278.73) *a.* Kamaṭha performing the five-fire penance.
b. Pārśva rescuing the snakes.
 94. (Ha,91r) *a.* Kamaṭha performing the five-fire penance.
b. Pārśva rescuing the snakes.
 95. (He,83v) Pārśva in the initiation palanquin.
 96. (Fr,63v) Pārśva plucks out his hair.

PLATE 29

- FIG. 97. (Ha,92v) Pārśva's austerities.
 98. (Cleve,46r) Pārśva's austerities.
 99. (Hb,84r) Pārśva's *samavasaraṇa*.
 100. (Fr,66v) Pārśva as a Siddha.

PLATE 30

- FIG. 101. (Ha,97r) Ariṣṭanemi in the Aparājita heaven.
 102. (Ha,97v) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi in the Aparājita heaven.
b. Adoration of Ariṣṭanemi's conch.
 103. (Fr,67v) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi's birth.
b. Ariṣṭanemi's lustration and bath at birth.

PLATE 31

- FIG. 104. (Hc,79r) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi blows Krishna's conch.
b. Krishna tries to bend Ariṣṭanemi's arm.
 105. (He,90r) Krishna tries to bend Ariṣṭanemi's arm.
 106. (Ha,98r) Krishna and his wives urge Ariṣṭanemi to marry.

PLATE 32

- FIG. 107. (He,90v) Krishna urges Ariṣṭanemi to marry.
 108. (Fr,68r) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion.
b. Ariṣṭanemi decides to leave the world.
 109. (Ha,99r) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion.
b. Ariṣṭanemi decides to leave the world.

PLATE 33

- FIG. 110. (Hb,88v) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion.
b. Ariṣṭanemi decides to leave the world.
 111. (Fr,68v) *a.* Ariṣṭanemi gives away his possessions.
b. Ariṣṭanemi plucks out his hair.
 112. (Ha,100r) Ariṣṭanemi plucks out his hair.

PLATE 34

- FIG. 113. (Ha,101r) Ariṣṭanemi's *samavasaraṇa*.
 114. (Ha,104r) Ariṣṭanemi as a Siddha.
 115. (Fr,73r) Ten Tīrthankaras.

PLATE 35

- FIG. 116. (Ha,110r) Ṛṣabha in the Sarvārthasiddha heaven.
 117. (Ha,110v) The patriarch Nābhi and his wife Marudevī.
 118. (M18.104,55v) Ṛṣabha's birth.

PLATE 36

- FIG. 119. (Fr,75v) *a.* Ṛṣabha's birth.
b. Ṛṣabha's lustration and bath at birth.
 120. (Hg,100v) Ṛṣabha's marriage.
 121. (Hb,100v) Ṛṣabha anointed the first king.

PLATE 37

- FIG. 122. (Hg,101r) Ṛṣabha teaches the arts.
 123. (Ha,112v) Ṛṣabha invents pottery.
 124. (Fr,77r) *a.* Ṛṣabha gives away his possessions.
b. Ṛṣabha plucks out his hair.
 125. (Ha,114r) Ṛṣabha receives the first alms.

PLATE 38

- FIG. 126. (Ha,115v) Ṛṣabha's *samavasaraṇa*.
 127. (Ha,116r) Marudevī's omniscience.
 128. (Fr,79v) Ṛṣabha as a Siddha.
 129. (Hg,102v) *a.* Ṛṣabha in meditation.
b. Conquests of the Cakravartin Bharata.

PLATE 39

- FIG. 130. (Fr,81r) The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra.
 131. (B17.2278,95) The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra.
 132. (B17.2277,54) The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra.

PLATE 40

- FIG. 133. (B22.364,107 left) Five of Mahāvīra's Gaṇadharas (and the nun Candanā?).
 134. (B22.364,107 right) Six of Mahāvīra's Gaṇadharas.
 135. (Ha,122v) One of Sthūlabhadra's sisters with the Sthavira Bhadrabāhu (?).

PLATE 41

- FIG. 136. (Fr,85v) *a.* Sthūlabhadra as a lion in a cave, with his sisters.
b. Sthūlabhadra's sisters before Bhadrabāhu (or Sthūlabhadra).
 137. (Ha,125r) Sthūlabhadra as a lion, with the eldest of his seven sisters.
 138. (Ha,125v) Sthūlabhadra's six other sisters.
 139. (Fr,86r) The courtesan Koṣā and the king's charioteer.

PLATE 42

- FIG. 140. (Ha,131v) *a.* Vajra being given to his father.
b. Vajra in care of the nuns.
141. (B17.2278,98) *a.* Vajra being given to the nuns.
b. Vajra in his cradle.
142. (Hd,63r) *a.* Vajra in his cradle.
b. Vajra being nursed by his mother.
c. The nuns who cared for Vajra.
143. (Hg,110v) *a.* Vajra in his cradle.
b. Vajra chooses his father and a monk's life, rather than his mother and childish playthings.

PLATE 43

- FIG. 144. (Hg,113r) *a.* Rohagupta and Poṭṭasāla debating.
b. Defeat of Poṭṭasāla's magic arts.
145. (B17.2277,61) A Sthavira.
146. (Fr,94r) Mahāvīra as a Siddha.
147. (B22.364,124) Indrabhūti Gautama (?).

PLATE 44

- FIG. 148. (Hg,132v) *a.* Rule of concourse of monks and nuns during rainy season.
b. Rule of concourse of monks and laywomen during rainy season.
149. (Hg,141v) Monks, nuns, and layfolk during the rainy season.
150. (Fr,108v) Mahāvīra preaching the Sāmācārī.
151. (Fr,109r) Part of Mahāvīra's audience as he preached the Sāmācārī.

PLATE 45

- FIG. 152. (Fr,cover) The fourteen lucky dreams.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS

PLATE I

FIG. 1. Hg,2r. The five auspicious events in Mahāvīra's life. KS 1 (Jtr 217). The five auspicious events in Mahāvīra's life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunī. In Uttaraphalgunī (1) he descended from heaven, (2) was removed from Devānandā's womb to Triśalā's, (3) was born, (4) tore out his hair and became an ascetic, (5) obtained omniscience. But (6) in Svāti he entered nirvāṇa.

This list of five auspicious events does not correspond with the usual five of a Tīrthankara. According to PSM, under *panca-kallāṇaya*, they are (1) descent from heaven (*cyavana*), (2) birth (*janma*), (3) initiation (*dīkṣā*), (4) omniscience (*kevalajñāna*), and (5) nirvāṇa. These are the scenes represented in our painting and discussed in detail under our figures 2, 58, 73, 80, 81.

In our painting the top register shows Mahāvīra as a god in heaven and his birth; the middle register shows him plucking out his hair; the bottom register shows his *samavasaraṇa* (that is, his omniscience—the paintings frequently use the title *jñāna* for that scene) and his nirvāṇa as a Siddha.

The title of the picture is guaranteed for us by the legend *pārśvapaṅcakalyāṇaka* (five auspicious events in the life of Pārśva), which in the same MS. accompanies the corresponding illustration for Pārśva (our fig. 92).

FIG. 2. Fr,1r (cf. Hü 49, 71 f.; C 41, 45, 54, pls. I.1, IV.1, XV.1). Mahāvīra in the Puṣpottara heaven. KS 2 (Jtr 218). Before descending to the earth for his final existence in the saṃsāra (round of birth), Mahāvīra had dwelt in the Puṣpottara heaven for 20 *sāgaropamas* (an incalculable period of time; cf. Kirfel 339). He descended on the sixth day of the light half of the month Āṣāḍha, in the middle of the night, to take the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, in the town of Kuṇḍagrāma.

On a lion-throne sits Mahāvīra, dressed only in a loincloth (Hü 71 also sees shoes in similar figures), but crowned and fully ornamented. He is in the cross-legged *padmāsana* posture, called by the Jains *paryaṅka* (Jo 359), the hands lying one upon the other with palms upward. Above Mahāvīra is an honorific parasol, and above this are two elephants (direction-elephants, *diṅnāga*) with trunks upraised in the conventional attitude of sprinkling water, constituting a symbol of fertilizing clouds and hence of general auspiciousness. Below them on a level with Mahāvīra's head, in small architectural units, are seated two heavenly musicians (*gandharva*), dressed in lower garment (*dhotī*) and scarf, playing flutes. Beside the body of Mahāvīra, under pointed arches, stand two fly-whisk bearers. In the bottom corners are seated two other attendants with hands upraised. Over the top of the picture is a band of swans (*haṃsas*) in an arch. Conventionalized flowers fill in the upper corners.

Similar scenes with other Tīrthankaras appear in our figures 87, 101, 102, 116.

In a variant (Hg 1, not illustrated in this work) the future Tīrthankara is seated cross-legged without the throne being shown. Beside him are the two attendants. In the upper corners are two duplicates of himself in smaller size and below him are two others.

FIG. 3. B17.2276,2 (cf. C 41, pl. I.2). A Tīrthankara as teacher. KS 2 (Jtr 218). The figure seems to symbolize the 23 Tīrthankaras mentioned in the text as preceding Mahāvīra.

A Tīrthankara in monk's garb sits within a spired throne. His legs are crossed with soles upward; his right hand holds up a rosary before his breast; his left hand lies in his lap. The ears are long and pierced with large holes in the pendulous lobes. On the subsidiary corner spires of the throne roof are two parrots.

The nature of the spired throne is indicated by other paintings from the KS MSS., which show it from the side (see our figs. 7, 9, et passim). It represents the seat of a Jina image under

the principal spire of a temple or in a heavenly palace or car (*vimāna*), conventionalized as an honorific seat for any distinguished being. In side views the spire is pushed back or tilted back to allow an unobstructed view of the honored one. Often the inside wall of the spire is decorated (cf. fig. 9). From this kind of seat is probably derived the seat used by monks (cf. Br 17,118), and in modern wooden examples of the latter the spire is reduced to a flat back, leaning backwards, with little or no indication of the spire other than a rounding at the top.

For similar compositions see our figures 4, 145.

FIG. 4. Fr,2r (cf. Sh pl. XIV; Hū 50 ff., fig. 1; C 45, 54, pls. IV.2, XV.2). A Tīrthakara and the eight auspicious symbols. KS 2 (Jtr 218); cf. under our figure 3. The one figure apparently symbolizes the 23 Tīrthakaras who preceded Mahāvīra (C 54 takes it for Mahāvīra, but the identification hardly seems correct, for at this point Mahāvīra had not yet become a monk).

In a spired throne viewed from the front sits a Tīrthakara (as in our fig. 3), right hand upheld in a gesture of teaching (*kaṭakahasta*), not holding the rosary as in our figure 3 (so also without the rosary in C pl. XV.2, but with it in C pl. IV.2), under the right arm the monk's broom (*rajoharaṇa*), on the right shoulder the monk's mouth-cloth (*mukhavastrikā*). He is dressed in the white robe of the Śvetāmbara monks, the whiteness being indicated by white dots over a gold background. On each side of the Tīrthakara stands a monk, evidently a disciple, with hands joined in adoration. Above the Tīrthakara are four of the eight auspicious symbols, below him the remaining four.

The eight auspicious objects (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) are regularly associated with the Tīrthakaras. Hū brings out this point in a long discussion, but he did not have in the Berlin MS. a painting showing them and a Tīrthakara together. In the MSS. to which I have had access I have not found an instance of the auspicious objects separated from a Tīrthakara, but Hū 54 gives a line drawing of such a miniature and Sh pl. XIV reproduces one in full color from a palm-leaf MS.

These eight auspicious objects, starting with our upper left-hand corner, are: mirror (*daḥḥaṇa*, *darḥaṇa*), throne of distinction (*bhaddāsaṇa*, *bhadrāsana*), powder-vase (*vaddhamāṇaga*, *vardhamānaka*), full water vessel (*kalasa*, *kalaśa*), pair of fish (*matsyayugma*), the *sirivaccha* (*śrīvatsa*) symbol, the *nandiyāvatta* (*nandyāvarta*) symbol, and the *sotthiya* (*svastika*) symbol.⁵

⁵ The eight auspicious objects are mentioned in Jo 113, and discussed in Hū 50-54. The full jar is discussed by Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. II, pp. 61-64, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1931. The two eyes associated with the jar, not explained by Coomaraswamy, are said by Hū to symbolize the clairvoyant knowledge (*ohiṇāṇa*, *avadhiṇāṇa*) which sees to the uttermost limits (cf. Jo 105, 109, 188, 201). Possibly the association of the eyes with the vessel of plenty (clouds) may indicate that they are a vestigial representation of the sun, which sees all and knows all (cf. also Atharva Veda 19.53.3, where the full jar is before Time = the Sun, and may be the sky full of rain). The *vardhamānaka* and *śrīvatsa* symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy, *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, pp. 181-182, 1927-28; and by Johnson, E. H., *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, pp. 558 f., 1931; and *ibid.*, pp. 393 ff., 1932. A brief and popular survey of the origin and diffusion of the swastika is given by W. N. Brown in a pamphlet, *The Swastika*, New York, Emerson Books, Inc., 1933.

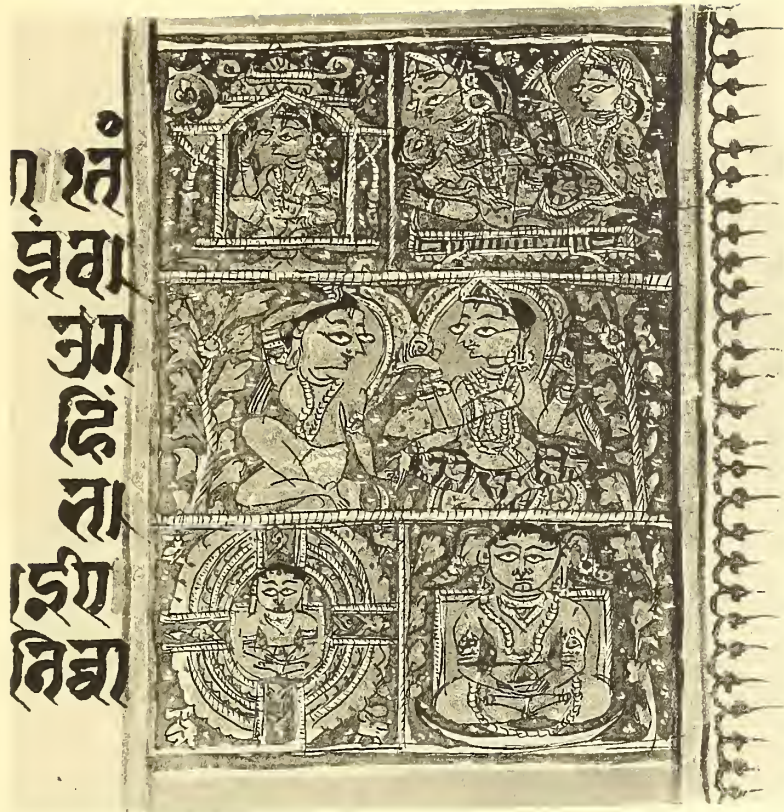


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

Small, rough



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

Handwritten note in red ink: 23.2.20 Leaf 5, verso.

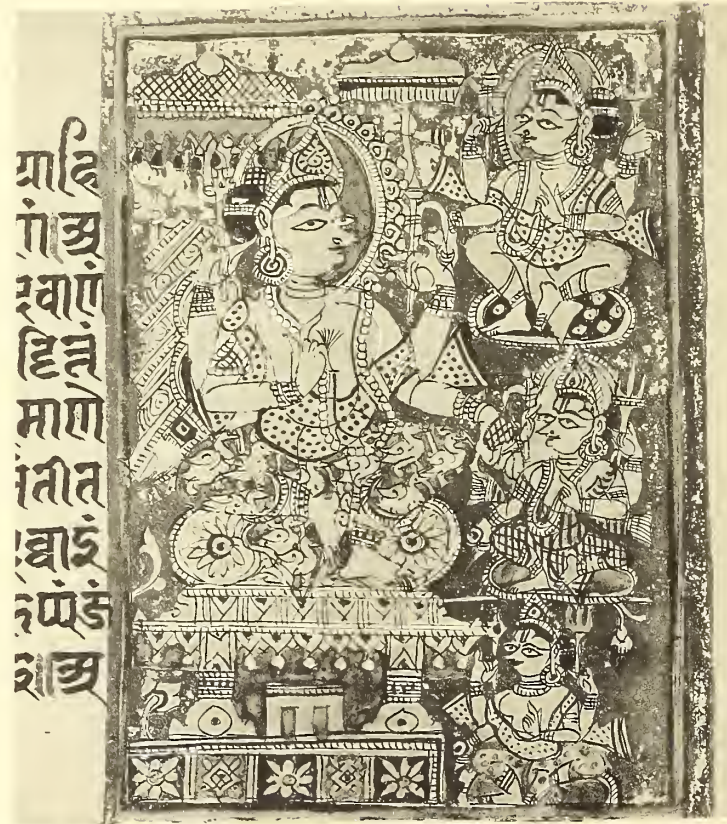


FIG. 7

PLATE 2

FIG. 5. Ha,4v. The Brāhmaṇī Devānandā on her couch. KS 3 (Jtr 219). When Mahāvīra descended from heaven to take form as an embryo in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, she was lying on her couch resting fitfully, now sleeping, now waking.

Devānandā, dressed in bodice (*colī*), lower garment (*dhotī*), and scarf (*dupaṭṭā*), rests upon a bed with a flowered coverlet, half sitting up with the support of a bolster, left leg crossed over the right, with a maid in attendance. She is fully ornamented and wears a diadem in her hair; behind her head is the large aureole usually accompanying female figures. The maid is dressed similarly, but less elaborately, and also has an aureole. In the maid's right hand is an object shaped like a lotus-bud. The bed is massive and is supported by curved legs. Beneath it are two objects, concerning which I am in doubt. The one at the left might be a brazier (cf. fig. 44, or an incense burner, cf. KS 32), here represented because it would be a part of the usual bedroom equipment even though the time is summer and it is not in use, or it might be a footstool. It is possibly the object which Hü 63 thinks is a sacrificial altar with burning butter-balls. The other object looks like a basket or a jar. Overhead is an elaborate canopy.

FIG. 6. Fr,3v (cf. Hü 56 ff., Tafel 1; C 50, pl. XI.4). Devānandā and the fourteen lucky dreams. KS 3-4 (Jtr 219). On the night when Mahāvīra descended from the Puṣpottara heaven to take form as an embryo in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, she had the fourteen auspicious great dreams; namely, (1) an elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) the anointing of the goddess Śrī, (5) a garland, (6) the moon, (7) the sun, (8) a banner, (9) a full jar, (10) a lotus lake, (11) an ocean of milk, (12) a celestial palace, (13) a heap of jewels, (14) a brilliant smokeless fire.⁶

At the bottom of the scene lies Devānandā on her couch, dressed almost as in our figure 5, and in almost the same attitude, although there is a slight difference in the gesture of the right hand. The attendant is not represented, nor the bedstead, nor the canopy. Above Devānandā the fourteen dreams appear in three registers, reading from top to bottom and from left to right in the order of the KS text. Although the text specifically states that the fourth dream is the anointing (*abhiscya*) of Śrī, the elephants that usually appear in the composition sprinkling her with water are not represented, and the omission is common in the KS illustrations.

Similar subjects are treated in our figures 18-33; a fuller statement of the dreams appears under figures 21-33.

FIG. 7. B17.2277,5 (cf. C 45, 50, 54, pls. IV.5, XI.8, XVI.8). Śakra on throne, with court. KS 14 (Jtr 222-223). At the time when Mahāvīra took the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, the god Śakra, who is chief of the 64 Jain Indras and the great deus ex machina of Jain legend, was seated on his throne in the Saudharma Kalpa heaven, in the celestial abode Saudharma Avataṃsaka, in the council-hall (*sabhā*) Sudharmā, enjoying the pleasures pertaining to his divinity, namely, story-telling, dramatic performances, singing, and instrumental music of lute (*vīṇā*) and drums.

Śakra is seated on his spired throne (cf. under fig. 3), bearing in three of his four hands the thunderbolt (*vajra*, which C calls a trident), an elephant-goad, and a lotus-bud (or possibly jewel or fruit). His scarf is elaborately patterned with swans. Before him are seated three attendants, gods (*devas*), each with four arms, in an attitude of reverence. They have attributes similar to Śakra's and are possibly meant to be some of the lesser Indras, in any case the gods mentioned in the KS text.

For a sculptural representation of a similar scene, coming from early in the Christian era (first or second century), see Sh pl. XXV. Mr. Shah (following Smith, V. A., *The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, 1901) labels the scene "Female dancers rejoicing at Nemesa's feat" (for which feat see our figs. 14-16), but it is so much like the MS. paintings of Śakra on his throne with his court that I believe it should be identified as the same subject.

⁶ On dreams cf. Bl 189. The "seventy-two dreams" are mentioned in Jacobi, *Sanatkumāracaritam* (from Haribhadra's *Nemināthacaritam*) Abh. d. Bayer. akad. d. Wissen., philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 27 f., 67, 1921; see also Barnett, L. D., *Antagaḍa-Ḍasāo*, pp. 16 ff.; also Hemacandra in M 10.3.147 ff.

PLATE 3

FIG. 8. Ha,9r (cf. under fig. 7). Śakra on throne, with court. KS 14 (Jtr 222-223). See under figure 7.

Śakra is seated on a throne of honor (*bhadrāsana*, see under fig. 4) and not in the usual spired seat with platform (figs. 7, 9). He has attributes as in figure 7; the lower right hand is closed with index finger upright. He is fully ornamented, as required according to the text, and wears garments woven in definitely indicated patterns. His right foot is folded upon the seat, his left hangs before it and rests upon a footstool. Behind him stands a male attendant with a fly-whisk (*camara*); over him and the fly-whisk bearer are two honorific parasols. Before Śakra in two registers are seven figures. The arrangement in registers does not mean that those in the upper are occupying a higher position in the room than those in the lower; it results merely in consequence of the convention that one figure in the drawing must not be set before another, and is an accompaniment of the Indian convention of vertical perspective (airplane view). In the top register are two male musicians playing drum and flute, and a female dancer. In the lower register are four males of the court, seated on low seats or cushions probably meant to be lesser thrones than Śakra's. These are possibly the four direction-guardian (*lokapāla*) gods mentioned in KS 14, or else just four gods representing the entire court, for Śakra is described in the passage as the chief of all the gods. The painting has a legend *indrasabhānāṭaka*, "entertainment in the court of Indra."

FIG. 9. Fr,9r (cf. Hü 60; C 46, 50, 54, pls. IV.6, XI.10, XVI.12). Śakra reverences Mahāvīra's embryo. KS 15-16 (Jtr 223-225). Śakra, by the power of his *avadhi* (all-seeing) knowledge, saw that Mahāvīra had descended to the earth. He left his throne, took off his bejewelled shoes, arranged his garments,⁷ folded his hands in a gesture of worship, advanced seven or eight steps towards the Tirthankara, bent his left knee and rested upon the right, touched the earth with his head three times, joined his hands and put them to his head, and then, after addressing all the holy beings, spoke in praise (*śakrastava*) to Mahāvīra.

At the right is Śakra kneeling with hands held before him in worship, and behind him is his spired seat from which he has stepped forth. Above him is his honorific parasol. Clouds appear at the top of the picture. The wall painting inside the spire is clearly shown. Śakra appears to be kneeling on a brick platform.

FIG. 10. B17.2276,9 (cf. C 42, pl. I.9). Śakra reverences Mahāvīra's embryo. KS 15-16 (Jtr 223-225). See under figure 8.

In this representation Mahāvīra appears, although not as an embryo but as a god in the Puṣpottara heaven (cf. fig. 2). The detail is less elaborate than in figure 1. Beside Mahāvīra's head are two swans holding lotuses. Śakra is not kneeling, as related in the KS text, but is standing in worship. At his feet is his elephant Airāvata.

⁷ This would normally mean that he wrapped his upper garment over his mouth; the term is *uttarāsāṅga*, but our painting does not show this.



० गं बुध शुक्र मङ्गल शनि



मा... दधिप्राद्य
शुनरेषुव
नी, तिली
इदशु
द्योतकर
लाकदा
मःशण
यदयेव्य
लीकाक
जीवमर
व्यसप्त
तानधाव
लाकमः
योगामर
भिलाए
चकुदेर
यादाबा
का नहा
मायेदव्य
दशोनवा

नाश्रवह...
लायुत्तमाणंलागनाबाणंलागदीम
गणो
पीडी
पीध
पीसर
मशुह
लाकना
ररकगिन
गलिवसे
लाकस्यस
गलीकक

FIG. 10

24.5
Leaf 9, No. 30

FIG. 9

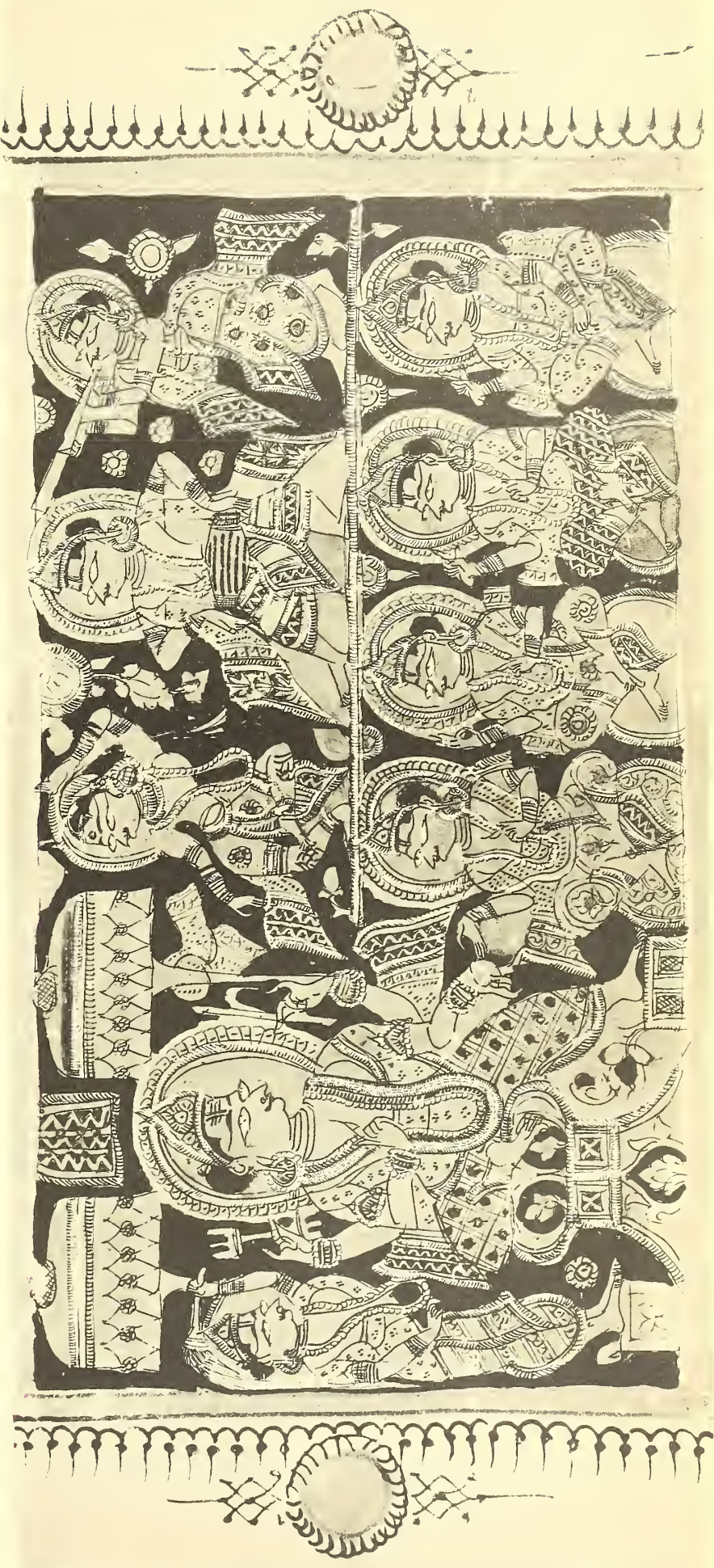


FIG. 8

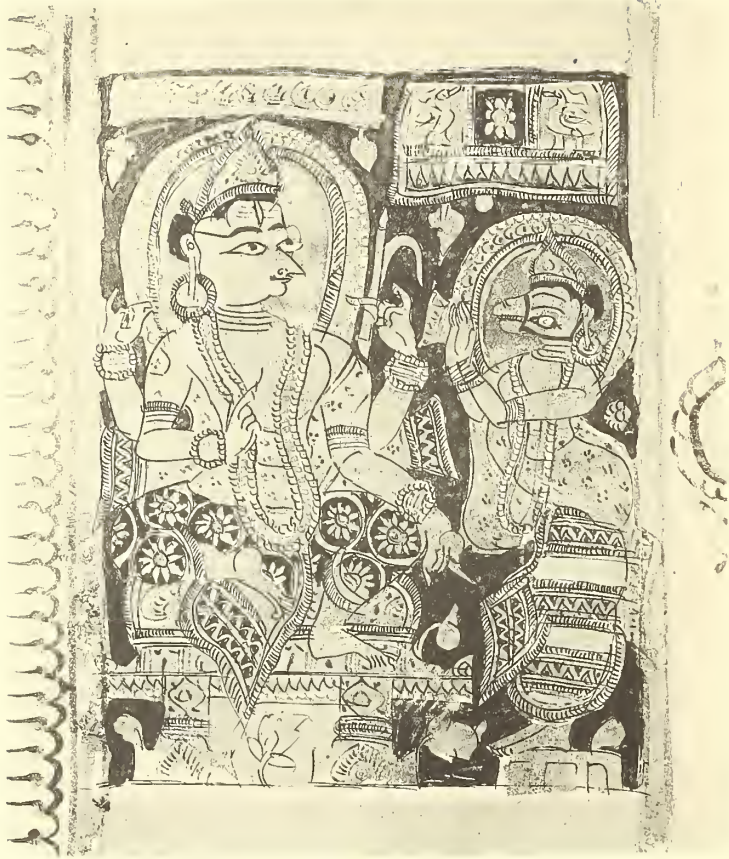


FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13



FIG. 14

Leaf 14, verso

PLATE 4

FIG. 11. Ha,16r (cf. Hü 61). Śakra commands Hariṇaigameṣin. KS 17-27 (Jtr 225-227). Śakra, reflecting that in all periods Tirthankaras are born only in families of the ruling caste (Kṣatriya) and never in those of the priestly caste (Brāhmaṇa), decides that he must have the embryo in the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā's womb exchanged for that in the womb of the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, wife of King Siddhārtha of the Kāśyapa gotra. He summons Hariṇaigameṣin, commander of his infantry, and instructs him to make the exchange. Hariṇaigameṣin indicates obedience.

At the left is Śakra seated on his throne. Facing him, at the right, is Hariṇaigameṣin, with hands in a gesture of obedience.

Hariṇaigameṣin is represented in the paintings as a being with a human body and the head of either a horse or an antelope. In this illustration and in our next (fig. 12) the head is that of a horse; in figures 14, 15, and 16 the head has antelope's horns.

Naigameṣa, the short form of the name Hariṇaigameṣin, is the name of a Yakṣa known from the time of the Atharva Veda, where he appears as a ram-headed creature—elsewhere with a horse's head. With the name Naigameṣa should be connected the name Naigameya, applied to the war god Skanda. So, too, the vehicle of Hariṇaigameṣin is the peacock (see our fig. 15), which is also that of Skanda. In various ways connections are indicated between Hariṇaigameṣin and Cāgamukha, Agnimukha, Sanatkumāra (=Skanda, Chand. Up. VII.26.2), Suṣeṇa (Rām. IV.22.42; VII.2), Maṇibhadra, the Buddha Saṅkusumita, Pradyumna, and Pañcaśikha. Hariṇaigameṣin is a composite figure, the son of a great deity, who becomes the leader of the army of some god or of the gods, and at the same time is associated with the procreation of children and the use of herbs. In our story he functions both as a general and as deity of procreation.

For the literature on Hariṇaigameṣin, see: Winternitz, M., Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., pp. 149 ff., 1895; Hopkins, E. W., Epic Mythology, pp. 119, 228 ff.; Keith, A. B., Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, p. 242; Mukhopadhyaya, Indian Hist. Quart., vol. 7, pp. 309-318; Epigraphia Indica II. 314 ff.; Barnett, L. D., The Antagaḍadasāo, p. 67; Smith, V. A., The Jain Stupa of Mathura, pl. XVII; Lalou, L'iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, pp. 66-70; Coomaraswamy, A. K., Yakṣas, pt. I, pp. 10, 12; Sh p. 21. Four very early sculptural representations of Hariṇaigameṣin and a female counterpart, from Kushana times, are reproduced in Sh pl. XXVI. (The exchange episode in our story recalls the Krishna infancy legends.)

FIG. 12. B22,364,18 (cf. C 54, pl. XVI.18). Śakra commands Hariṇaigameṣin. KS 17-27 (Jtr 225-227). See under figure 11.

The scene differs from that of figure 11 chiefly in representing Hariṇaigameṣin twice, once in the lower register receiving Śakra's commands, and once in the upper register leaving to execute them.

FIG. 13. Hg,16v. Śakra's command. Presumably KS 17-27 (Jtr 225-227). See under figure 11.

This painting bears the legend *indra ādeśa* "Indra's command" and appears in the text opposite KS 24-25, but I have not seen another painting like it, and I cannot explain it. It is in two registers. In the upper register is a triple-walled enclosure, like those used for a Tirthankara's *samavasaraṇa* (see figs. 80, 99, 113, 126), inside of which sits a woman. In the lower register, at the left, is a wall or pile of bricks or brick-kiln (see Br, figs. 29, 37), above which is seated a creature with human body and the head of an animal, possibly a lion. In the center is a river (? cf. figure 88); at the right are two tiers of three males each, the left-hand one in the top row appearing to have four arms.

FIG. 14. Fr,14v (cf. Hü 62; C 46, 54, pls. V.10, XVI.20). Hariṇaigameṣin removes the embryo from Devānandā's womb. KS 27-28 (Jtr 227-228). Hariṇaigameṣin miraculously went to the continent of Jambudvīpa, to Bharatavarṣa (India), to the village of Kuṇḍagrāma, bowed to Mahāvīra, cast Devānandā and her attendants into a deep sleep, and saying, "May the Venerable One permit me," took out the embryo from Devānandā's womb.

Devānandā is lying on her bed, as in figures 5 and 6, with her eyes wide open, although she is supposed to be asleep—in this art eyes are regularly represented open, no matter what the circum-

stances. At the right is Hariṇaigameṣin leaving with the embryo. Overhead is an elaborate canopy, and above that the top of the house, which has three peaks. Peacocks, parrots, and swans fill in the composition. Below the bed are three objects (cf. fig. 5), the middle one of which is a water vessel. The others are like those in figure 5, for which I suggest tentatively a brazier (or incense stand; cf. KS 32) and a basket (or jar).

In Sh pl. IV is pictured a Kushana sculpture from Mathura labelled by Mr. Shah as "transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo by Naigameṣa".

PLATE 5

FIG. 15. Hc,21v. Hariṇaigameṣin carrying the embryo. KS 28 (Jtr 228). Hariṇaigameṣin, carrying the embryo, went from the part of Kuṇḍagrāma where the Brahmans dwelt to the part where the Kṣatriyas dwelt, to the home of Siddhārtha and Triśalā.

Hariṇaigameṣin is striding along with great vigor, holding in his left hand the foetus. Below his feet is a peacock, apparently his vehicle.

FIG. 16. Fr,15r (cf. Hü 62 f., fig. 3; C 42, 46, 54, pls. I.15, V.11, XVI.20). Hariṇaigameṣin brings the embryo to Queen Triśalā. KS 28 (Jtr 228). Bringing the embryo of Mahāvīra to the home of King Siddhārtha and Queen Triśalā, Hariṇaigameṣin cast the queen and her retinue into a deep sleep, and then placed the embryo that had been in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā in the womb of the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, and the embryo that had been in the womb of Triśalā he put in the womb of Devānandā.

The scene is much like that of figure 14, but less elaborate in detail. Hariṇaigameṣin is approaching Triśalā. The top part of the room (or house) is less complicated than in figure 14 and there are only two objects under the bed.

FIG. 17. Hb,23v (cf. Hü 63, Tafel I; C 46, 54, pls. V.12, XVI.23). Triśalā on her couch. KS 31-32 (Jtr 229-230). On the night when the embryo was transferred the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā was sleeping fitfully in her beautifully ornamented room, lying upon a highly decorated couch; and at that time she saw the fourteen lucky dreams.

The treatment is essentially like that of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā asleep in our figure 5. The upper part of the picture, showing the entablature of the house, is beautifully ornamented with a full vase and two pairs of peacocks with intertwined necks.

In the KS text the description of Triśalā's room and bed is detailed, whereas no description was given of Devānandā's room and bed.

In the corresponding illustration of the Berlin MS. (Hü 63) the sun and moon appear above the bed, and flowers fall from heaven (or perhaps the flowers are meant only to fill in the composition; cf. remark under our fig. 73, p. 34).



FIG. 18

*27/11/1903
Long 14/1/1903*

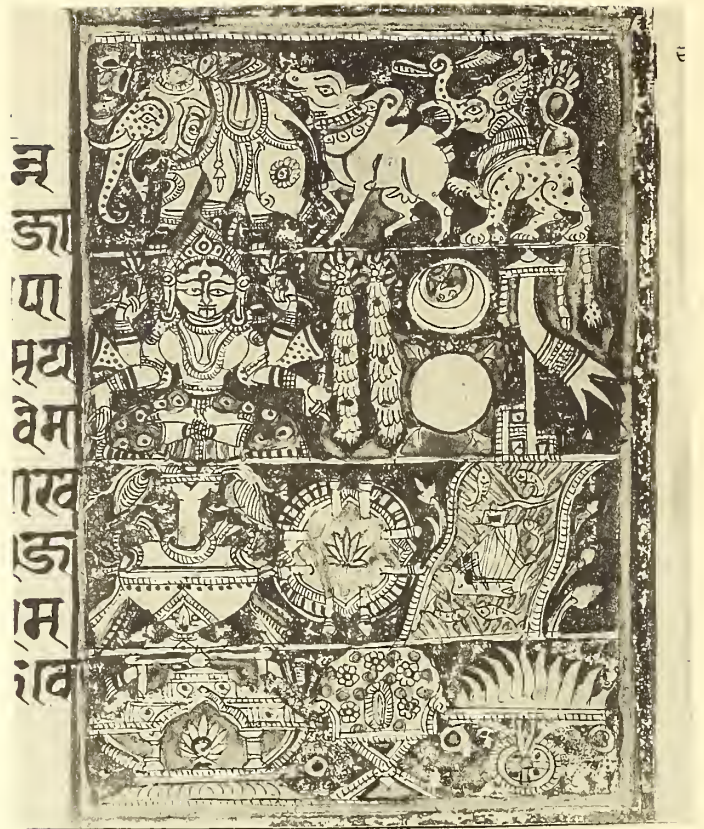


FIG. 19



FIG. 20

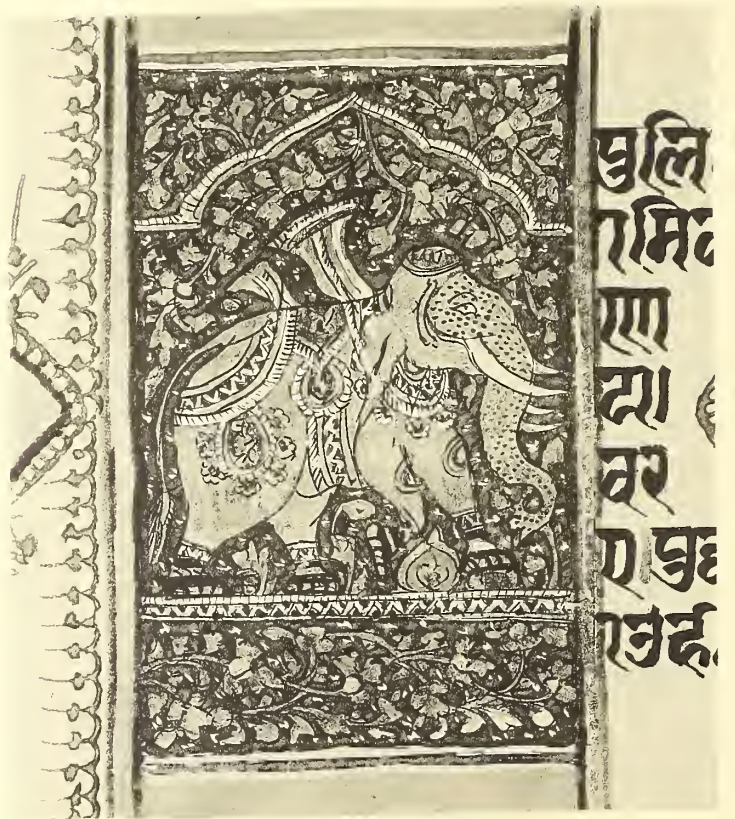


FIG. 21

PLATE 6

FIG. 18. Fr.18r (cf. C 50, pl. XI.21). Triśalā and the fourteen lucky dreams. KS 31-46 (Jtr 229-238). Triśalā sleeping fitfully saw the fourteen lucky dreams that Devānandā had previously seen. These dreams appear to the mother of every Tirthankara on the night when the future Savior enters her womb.

In composition and detail the treatment is almost exactly like that of Devānandā seeing the fourteen lucky dreams (fig. 6). Triśalā's aureole is slightly more elaborate than that of Devānandā.

In the KS text the dreams are at this point described in detail (cf. also in Jo 100 f.). See also under our figures 21-33. Omitting most of the detail, we find (1) the elephant is white and has four tusks (the painting shows only two); (2) the bull is white; (3) the lion is white and playful (notice his jaunty manner in fig. 6); (4) the goddess Śrī, on top of the Himalaya mountains, seated on a lotus in a lotus lake, is being sprinkled by elephants (not shown in the painting), and she has all the standard marks of beauty, such as a large and beautiful abdomen adorned with a circular navel and a lovely row of black hair and three dimples, while her waist could be spanned with one hand; she sprinkles about the juice from two lotuses; (5) the garland is composed of a variety of flowers; (6) the moon is full;⁸ (7) the sun is red; (8) the banner is fastened to a golden staff with a tuft of peacock's feathers; (9) the full vessel is of gold, contains water, has all the auspicious marks, stands upon a lotus base, and is entwined with flowers; (10) the water of the lotus lake is yellow; (11) the ocean is the Ocean of Milk, constantly in motion, and is filled with all sorts of marine monsters (represented here, but not in fig. 6); (12) the celestial palace is dazzling, has 1,008 columns, is decorated with pictures, and is filled with music made by the Gandharvas; (13) the jewel heap extends from earth up to the heavens and illumines the sky; (14) the fire is smokeless.

FIG. 19. B17.2277,13 (cf. Hü 56, fig. 2; C 42, 46, pls. I.34, V.13). The fourteen lucky dreams of Triśalā. KS 33-46 (Jtr 231-238). See under figure 18.

The fourteen lucky dreams without Triśalā in the composition. For the dreams see under figures 18 and 21-33.

FIG. 20. Ha,27v (cf. C 54, pl. XVIII.34). The goddess Śrī, one of the fourteen lucky dreams. KS 36 (Jtr 232-233). As the fourth of the lucky dreams the goddess Śrī is presented alone. For her see under figure 24.

The goddess is seated in a spired seat of honor, facing straight forward. She is four-armed, and in the upper hands carries the two lotuses mentioned in the KS text. Again the elephants are missing. She is dressed in bodice, lower garment, and scarf, wears full ornaments, and on her forehead carries the usual spot (*tilaka*). Swans and parrots are on the roof of the building.

In the Boston example (C 54, pl. XVII.34) the composition has still more detail. There is an elephant under the throne, and peacocks are in the upper corners.

FIG. 21. Hg,23v. The elephant. KS 33 (Jtr 231). The first of Triśalā's fourteen dreams was an elephant. It was large and beautiful, possessing all the lucky marks,⁹ white, with four tusks, its forehead streaming with ichor, an animal equal to Indra's elephant.

On a blue background amid vegetation ornament is the elephant. It is fully caparisoned, like a state elephant. Its white color is represented by gold. Of the four tusks mentioned in the text, two are represented by tips appearing below the usual tusks.

⁸ So stated in the text, although in the painting it appears to be a crescent, but for explanation see under figure 26.

⁹ See in Edgerton, F., *The Elephant-Lore of the Hindus*, pp. 54 ff., New Haven, 1931; Jo 188 f.

PLATE 7

FIG. 22. Hg,25r. The bull. KS 34 (Jtr 231). The second dream was a white bull surrounded by a diffusion of light, with a charming hump. Its beautiful horns were greased at the tips.

FIG. 23. Hg,25v. The lion. KS 35 (Jtr 231-232). The third dream was a sportive lion, whiter than pearls, beautiful in every respect, with flapping tail and with tongue protruding from its mouth.

Presumably the object extending from the lion's mouth is the protruding tongue mentioned in the text.

FIG. 24. Hg,26r. The goddess Śrī. KS 36 (Jtr 232-233). The fourth dream was the goddess Śrī (see under fig. 20).

This painting has many similarities to that of figure 20, although the goddess is not seated in a spired seat. Her lotus rises from the lotus lake on top of the Himalaya mountains mentioned in the text. Her upper right hand holds an axe; the lower is in *varada* (gift) gesture. The upper left hand holds a lotus, the lower is not certain.

FIG. 25. Hg,27v. The garland. KS 37 (Jtr 233-234). The text describes the various kinds of flowers that made up the garland.

In the painting the garland hangs down with a lotus supporting it. On each side is a streamer.

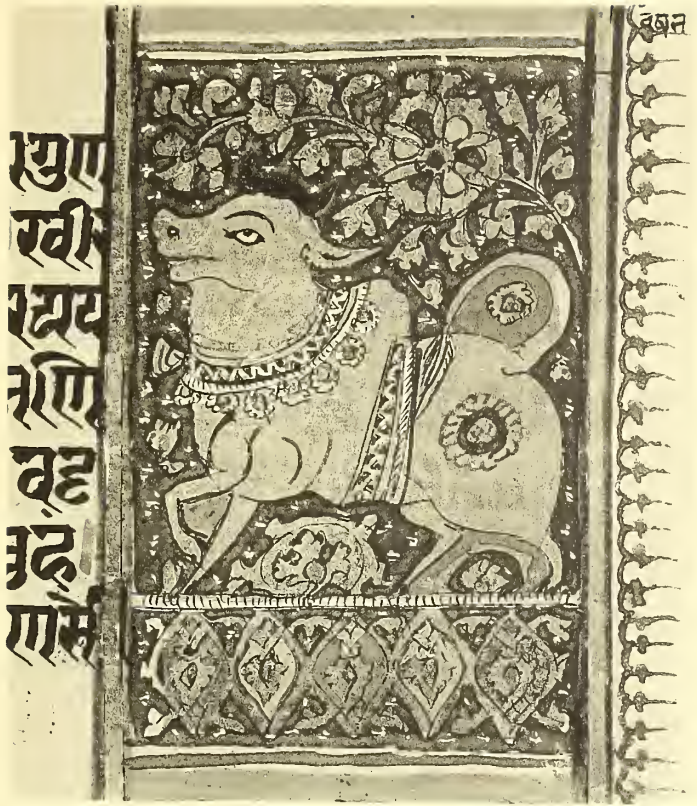


FIG. 22

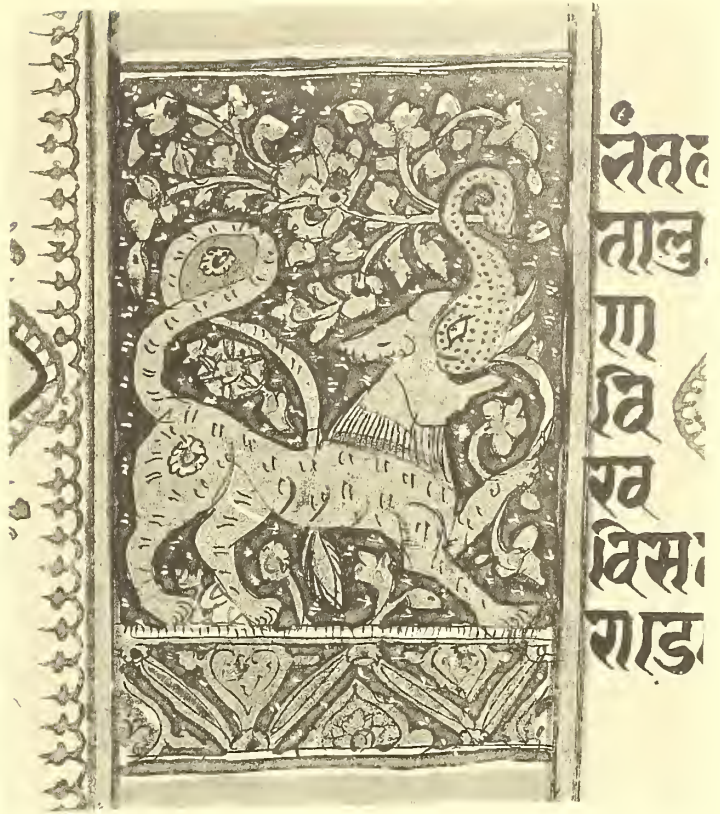


FIG. 23



FIG. 24



FIG. 25

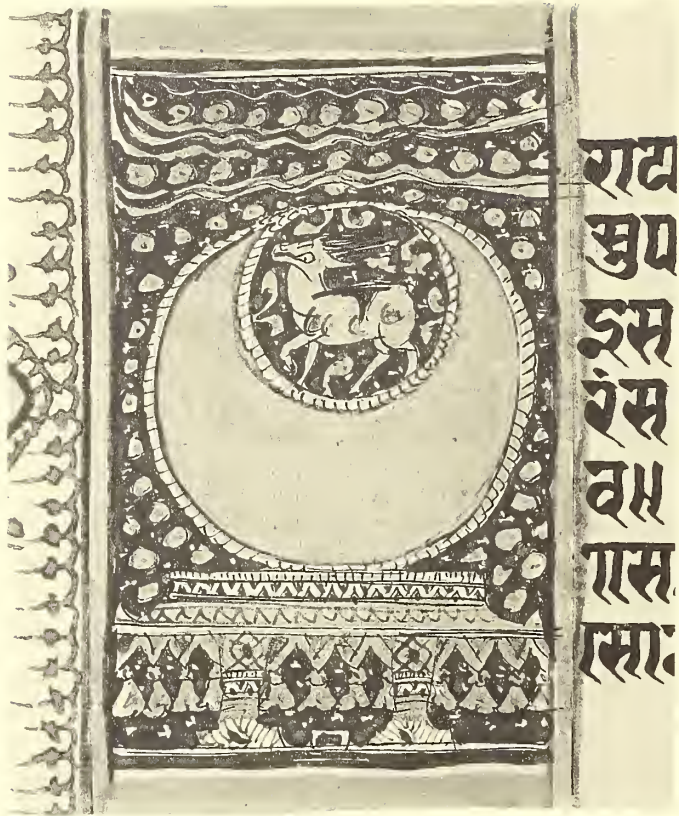


FIG. 26

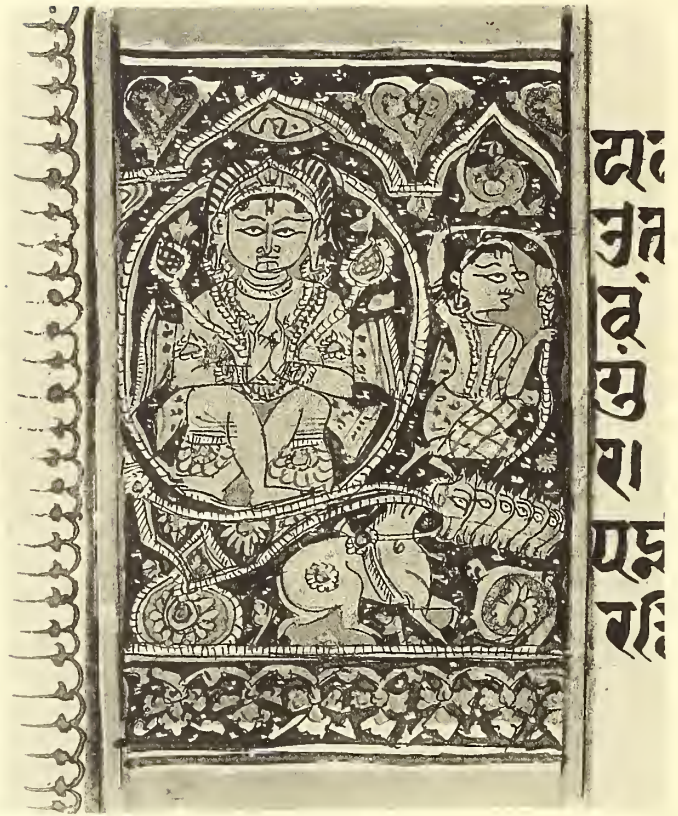


FIG. 27

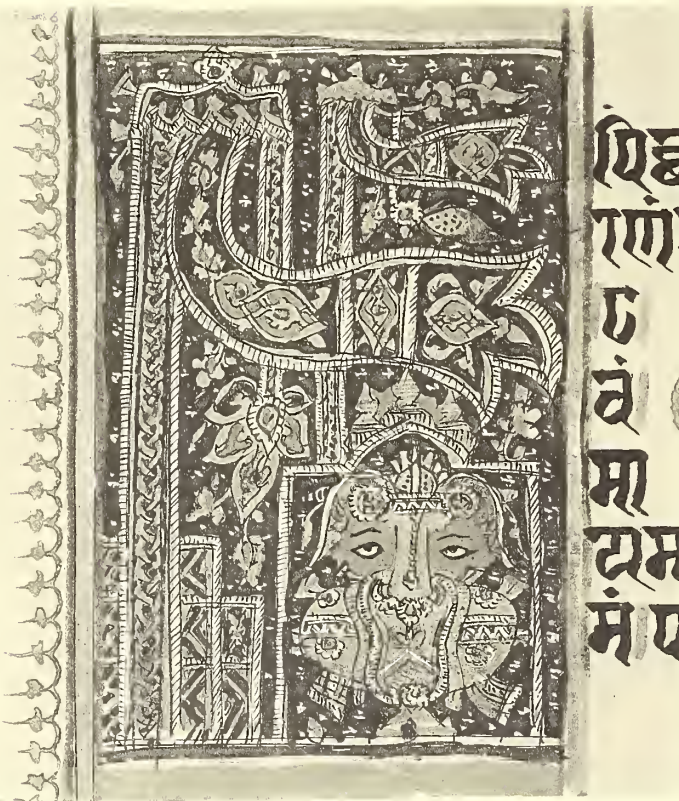


FIG. 28



FIG. 29

PLATE 8

FIG. 26. Hg,28v. The moon. KS 38 (Jtr 234-235). The sixth dream was the full moon.

On a stand is the moon, looking like a crescent but actually full. The apparently vacant space is the part reserved for the deer which the Indians profess to see in the moon (*mygāñka*; sometimes they see a hare, *śaśāñka*); for a similar representation in metal see Jo plate III. Clouds are overhead.

FIG. 27. Hg,29r. The sun. KS 39 (Jtr 235). The seventh dream was the red sun.

In our painting the sun is anthropomorphic, seated on his chariot with legs crossed and hanging down in front. His roundness is indicated by a circle about his figure. He is riding in the seven-horsed chariot commonly indicated for him in Hindu sculpture, driven by his charioteer Aruṇa (Dawn).

FIG. 28. Hg,30r. The banner and the full vase. KS 40-41 (Jtr 235-236). The eighth and ninth dreams were respectively a wondrous and beautiful banner fastened to a golden staff, with a lion at the top; and a full vase filled with water and lotuses, the abode of Fortune.

In the painting we have a large banner and a small one, neither bearing the lion of our text. The vase is set in its own frame.

FIG. 29. Hg,31v. The lotus lake. KS 42 (Jtr 236). The tenth dream was a large lake full of lotuses swarming with bees, with aquatic birds standing beside the lake.

In the painting the lake is full of fish and lotuses. It has two tiers of steps, with four gateways or openings. The birds appear in the gates.

PLATE 9

FIG. 30. Hg,32r. The ocean of milk. KS 43 (Jtr 236-237). The eleventh dream was the ocean of milk, with agitated water full of marine animals.

In the painting the ocean is represented by a wide diagonal band, in which crossed lines indicate water. Fish, crocodiles, and snakes swim around. In the center is a boat containing in four compartments two elephants, a swan, and a horse. At the top of the mast (?) appears to be a lookout. On the shores are a human being and a crane.

FIG. 31. Hg,33r. The celestial palace. KS 44 (Jtr 237-238). The twelfth dream was of a heavenly palace, with 1,008 columns, hung with garlands, decorated with pictures or sculptures, filled with the music of the Gandharvas.

In the palace sits a god, and musicians appear in the corners above it.

FIG. 32. Hg,33v. The jewel heap. KS 45 (Jtr 238). The thirteenth dream was of a heap of all sorts of jewels.

The heap stands upon a low table.

FIG. 33. Hg,34r. The fire. KS 46 (Jtr 238). The fourteenth dream was a smokeless fire with flame in constant motion.

The fire covers the top of a mountain, on which are deer, lions, and other wild animals.



FIG. 30

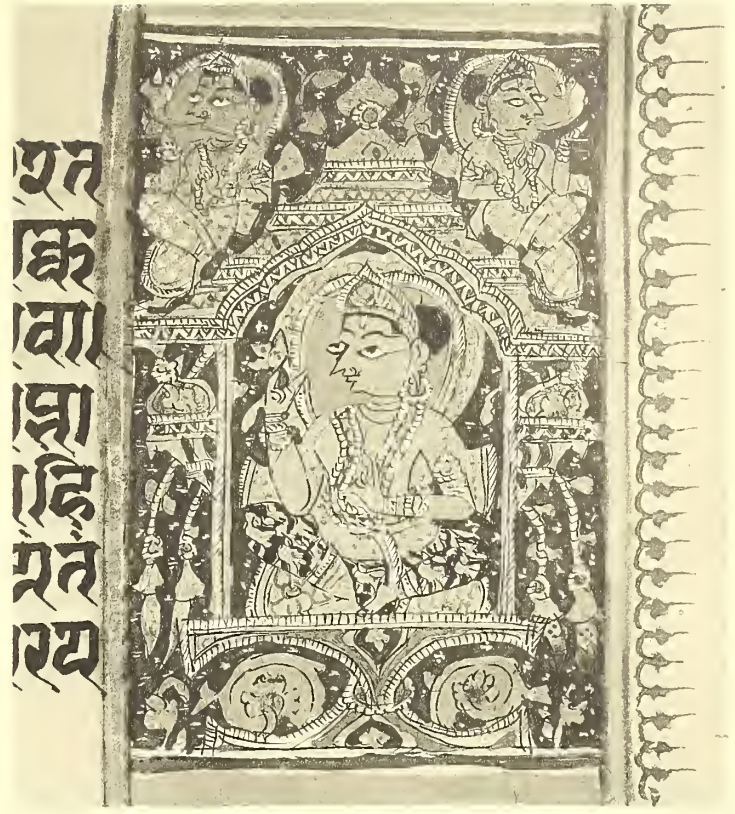


FIG. 31



FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34

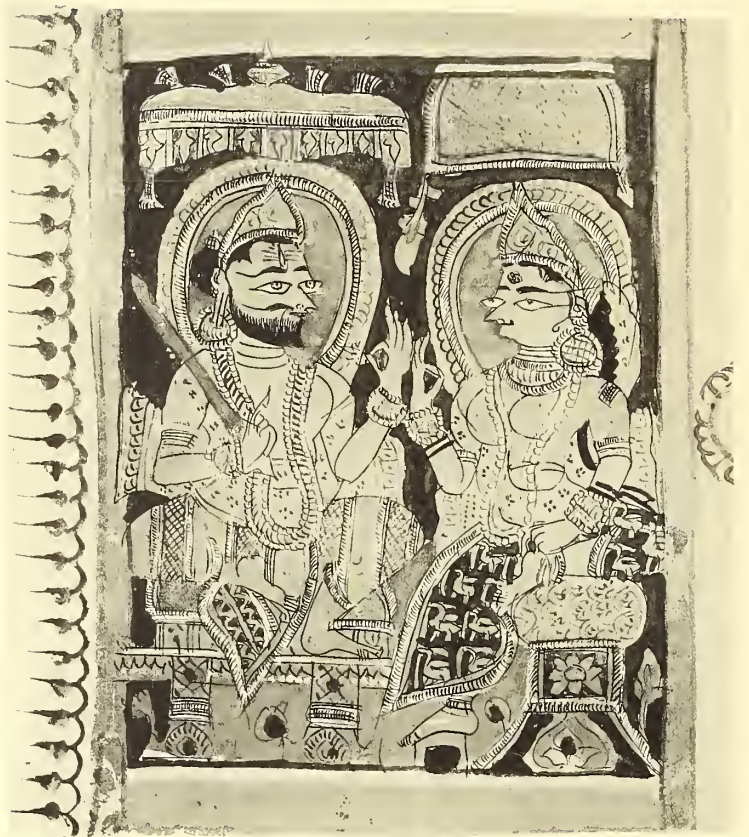


FIG. 35

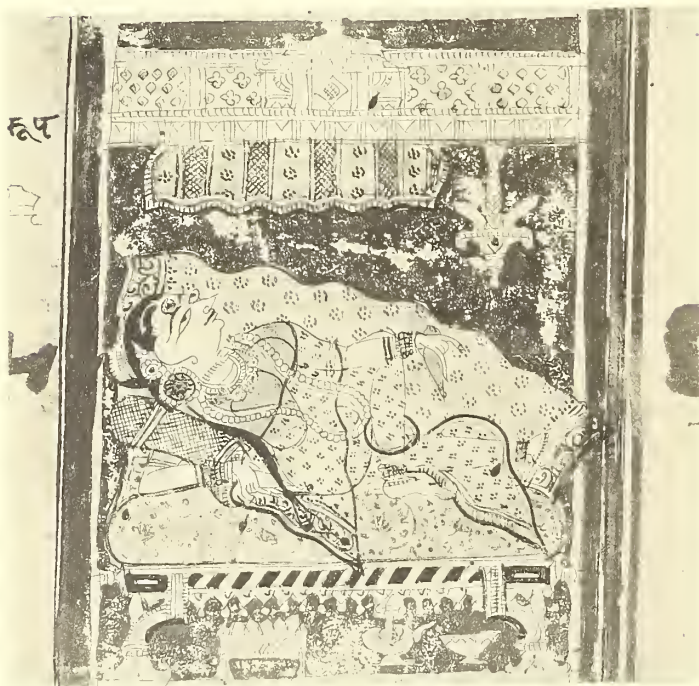


FIG. 36

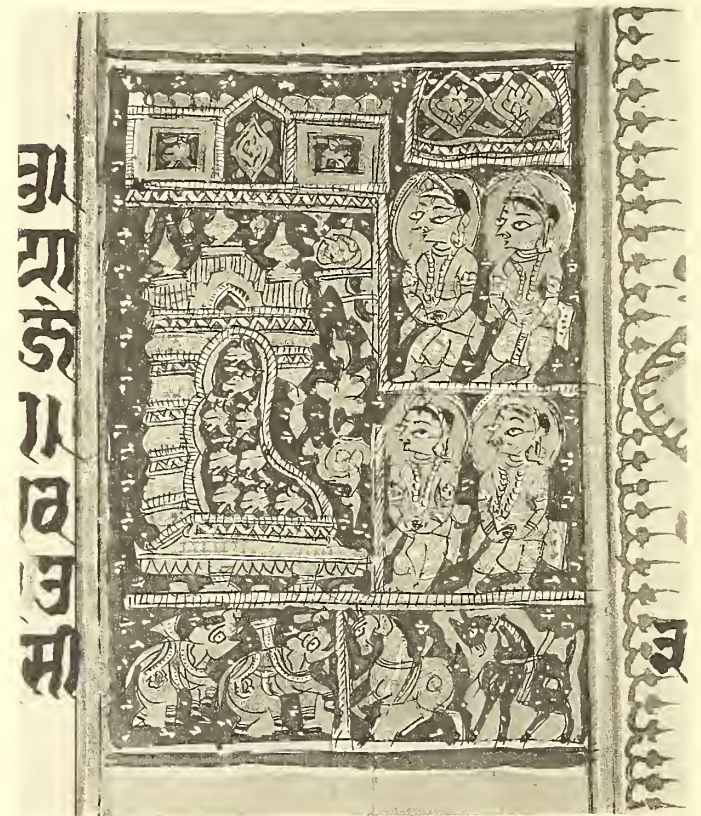


FIG. 37

PLATE IO

FIG. 34. Ha,34v. Triśalā awakens Siddhārtha. KS 47 (Jtr 238-239). On waking from the fourteen dreams Triśalā, with stately gait like that of the royal swan, went to the couch of the Kṣatriya Siddhārtha, and addressed him.

Siddhārtha's bed and attitude are like those of Devānandā and Triśalā in figures 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 18. The objects beneath the bed are like those in figures 6, 14, 16. On Siddhārtha's forehead is the mark (*tilaka*) usually belonging among lay people to women. Over the bed is a canopy. Triśalā stands at the foot of the bed, over her being a smaller canopy.

FIG. 35. Ha,35r (cf. C 46, pl. V.19). Triśalā relates her dreams to Siddhārtha, who expounds them. KS 48-53 (Jtr 239-240). With the permission of Siddhārtha Triśalā sat down upon a throne of honor and related to him the fourteen dreams. He assured her that the dreams presaged the birth of a son who would become a mighty monarch—in Jainism, as in Buddhism, the dreams (or lucky marks upon the body, when of the most significant combination) indicate that the child just conceived will be either a world-emperor or a Savior.

King Siddhārtha sits at the left on his throne, the parasol above him, in his right hand his sword, this being the customary pose in this art of a king occupying the throne. In his left hand he holds a flower. Triśalā faces him, seated on the *bhadrāsana* (seat of honor) mentioned in the KS text (cf. illustration of it among the eight auspicious objects, fig. 4).

FIG. 36. B17.2276,36 left (cf. C 42, pl. II.36). Triśalā remains awake the rest of the night. KS 54-55 (Jtr 240). After Siddhārtha had expounded the meaning of her dreams, Triśalā returned to her bed, and there remained awake the rest of the night that the auspicious character of her dreams might not be negated by any inauspicious dreams.

Triśalā lies on her bed as in other scenes in the KS paintings (cf. figs. 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 18). Above the foot of the bed suspended from the ceiling is a lamp.

Dr. Coomaraswamy understands this painting differently (C 42). He considers it part of the scene where the dreams are interpreted by professional interpreters, when King Siddhārtha sat in a room with the interpreters, while Queen Triśalā remained behind a curtain listening. It happens that the dream interpretation scene actually is treated on the right-hand side of the same folio containing the scene here under discussion. I disagree with his identification of our present painting on the following grounds: (1) the scene of the interpretation of the dreams, with Triśalā behind a curtain, is usually represented in another way (see our fig. 48); (2) in the painting here being considered Triśalā is lying upon a bed, but the KS text (63, 88) specifically states that at the time of the dream interpretation she sat upon a *bhadrāsana* (seat of honor, for which see our figs. 4, 8, 35, 48).

FIG. 37. Hg,39v. Siddhārtha's servants erect a throne. KS 56-58 (Jtr 241). At the time of daybreak Siddhārtha commanded the family servants to prepare the outer hall of audience and erect his throne, and to come report when all was prepared. They gladly accepted his command, erected the throne, and when it was prepared informed the king.

The throne stands at the left of the picture and is the familiar spired throne on a pedestal in which persons of distinction commonly sit in the paintings of the Early Western Indian school. This is the first empty throne that I have observed. Facing the throne are four male servants. At the bottom of the picture are two elephants and two horses.

PLATE II

FIG. 38. Ha,39r. Sunrise. KS 59 (Jtr 241-242). With the coming of morning the sun rose. Its redness is compared to a number of objects. At that time Siddhārtha arose from his bed.

The bright golden ball of the sun, with first a blue and then a white rim against a red background, is just above a variegated mountain peak. Trees flank the scene.

This is the first pure landscape I have seen in Early Western Indian miniature painting.

FIG. 39. Ha,40v (cf. C 50, 55, pls. XI.35, XVII.40). Siddhārtha at his gymnastic exercises. KS 60 (Jtr 242). At sunrise the king arose and went into the gymnasium to take his morning exercises of jumping, wrestling, fencing, and boxing

In the upper register the king is thrice represented in highly animated posture, with objects on his hand that resemble boxing gloves; in the lower register he appears three times more in wrestling attitudes. He is in "undress", even his halo being without its usual ornamental border.

FIG. 40. Hd,22r. Two scenes in one: (a) Siddhārtha's shampooing; (b) Siddhārtha's toilet. KS 60-61 (Jtr 242-243). After his exercises King Siddhārtha was shampooed by male attendants; then he entered the bathhouse, where he bathed luxuriously and put on fine robes and ornaments.

In the upper register is King Siddhārtha seated on the oiled skin mentioned in the text, while attendants shampoo (massage) his arms. Two water vessels—or possibly vessels of oil for the shampooing—fill in the composition. In the lower register the king is seated upon a bathing stool, while two male attendants wait upon him. One of them has a comb, with which he is dressing the king's long hair. The king holds up his two hands before him as though pouring water over himself. Various vessels appear in the scene, especially one on the seat behind the king to catch the water squeezed from his hair (cf. fig. 42). The king is in "undress", his one white garment being represented by pearly dots on a gold background. For a description of a bath see R 2.797 ff. (Jo 142).



FIG. 38



FIG. 39

॥ मुमुक्षुं ननु कालं फलं च तैर्न जलिनो कालो निराशौ रस्यो यः स्वानमं दुःखः ॥ विचिन्वन्परितो स्यात् ॥
 दिशतं लोचनं हस्तं चिको यवकानं मंडयंतं स्मिन् ॥

रं ससुत्रं जालं कुला दिशामं विचिन्नमणिरय
 णकुहिमतलं रूमणि छिद्राणमंडवंसि नाण
 मणिरयणसन्निचिन्नं सिष्णाणपीठं ॥ सि सुह
 तिसन्नं बुष्पादणं गंधाणु ॥
 सुदाण सुदाण कलाणकर ॥
 णपवरसस्यणविदीण मखियात ॥
 उअसणदिं बजविदिदिं कलाणग पवरमा ॥
 स्यणवसाण पङ्कलसुकुमालगंधकामाडयइदि
 यंण अदयसुमदगयइसरयाण सुसैवुय सरस

॥ पक्कला एते लो पक्कलती अत एव च कु माला गंधधमना कु पाठिका कवसं रकां दिधातया लू
 विने कु तिने अंगे य स ॥ अदयण सुसुते मलं बुधका द्विनिः ॥ ई वृणो मासि वसुं अलने सुम हर्म्यं मंडयिः पवित्रं
 माला बुष्पा को लोचनं कविलेपने मं कुं कारि कुं कुं नविलेपने यवकानं ॥

FIG. 40

॥ बुष्पा रसो मिस्त्रिणि ॥
 श्रीष्टकामं रादिभि
 स्त्रिणिः ॥ कलाणादि
 वरः ॥
 नो ॥
 कुं ॥
 कुं ॥
 नः सकिन् ॥ मखव
 मंडयं रकां मतिः ॥

PLATE 12

FIG. 41. Cleve,22v (cf. Hü 63-64; C 46, 50, 55, pls. V.21, XI.35, XVII.44). Siddhārtha's toilet. KS 61 (Jtr 242-244). After his exercises and shampooing, the king entered the bathhouse, where he bathed luxuriously and put on fine robes and ornaments.

King Siddhārtha sits on a cushion on a bathing stool, while an attendant dresses his hair. The bathhouse is shown, with two peacocks on the roof. This painting is done with great delicacy and is especially fine.

Dr. Coomaraswamy (C 46, 55) speaks of the attendants in such scenes as female, but this seems to be an error. In our figure 40, and in others not reproduced here (B17.2278, 35), the attendants' sex is clearly indicated either by beards or the U-shaped forehead mark of males. We may assume, therefore, that the bathhouse attendants, although not mentioned in the KS text, were male like the shampooers, whose sex is definitely indicated in the text.

FIG. 42. Fr,29r. Siddhārtha's toilet. KS 61 (Jtr 242-244). See under figure 41.

In this representation there are three attendants, and scattered about in the scene are vessels for water and possibly unguents. As in figure 40, there is a vessel behind the king to catch the water squeezed from his hair.

FIG. 43. Hb,40r. Siddhārtha's toilet. KS 61 (Jtr 242-244). See under figure 41.

In this scene the process of the toilet seems more advanced, although one of the two attendants is still dressing the king's hair. Here the other attendant, instead of the king, holds the mirror. The king's halo is complete. The hair is treated with white dots over a black background, perhaps to indicate that it was dressed with flowers.

PLATE 13

FIG. 44. Hg,42r. Siddhārtha's toilet. KS 6I (Jtr 242-244). See under figure 4I.

The upper half of this picture is like figure 4I; the king sits cross-legged on a low seat, while one attendant dresses his hair and another holds a mirror before him. In the lower half of the picture an attendant heats water in a jar over a fireplace probably meant to represent the sort of *cūlhā* used in India today, which is a square or nearly round wall open at one side for inserting fuel. Between the fireplace and the attendant are two other jars, which appear to be one on top of the other, but are probably meant to be considered one behind the other on the ground. This art usually represents no object in front of another (the result of vertical perspective, "airplane view").

FIG. 45. Ha,42r. Siddhārtha's toilet completed. KS 6I (Jtr 243). At the conclusion of his toilet, the king was like a wish-granting tree, decorated with ornaments.

King Siddhārtha sits upon a seat of honor (*bhadrāsana*) with a sword in his right hand, showing that he is now ready to appear in kingly state before his court. In his left hand he holds a mirror, with which he takes a last look at himself in his splendor. Before him stands a female figure (note mark on forehead), possibly Queen Triśalā. The scene might have been hard to identify but for the marginal legend *siddhārthaśṛṅgāra*, which I take to mean "Siddhārtha in full dress".

FIG. 46. B17.2277,22 (cf. Hü 63; C 46, pl. VI.22). Siddhārtha dispatches messengers. KS 62-64 (Jtr 244-245). On leaving the bathhouse King Siddhārtha entered the outer hall of audience and sat down upon a "lion-throne" (*sīhāsana*); cf. figure 37. He ordered eight seats of honor (*bhadrāsana*) set up, had a curtain drawn, behind which Queen Triśalā was to sit; then summoned his servants, and told them to call the astrologers and interpreters of dreams.

King Siddhārtha is sitting on a spired throne, the honorific parasol of sovereignty above him. Before him stand three servants armed with sword and shield, to whom he is giving instructions.

Hüttemann (Hü 63) misunderstood this scene, thinking that it came before the toilet.



FIG. 44



FIG. 46



FIG. 45



FIG. 47

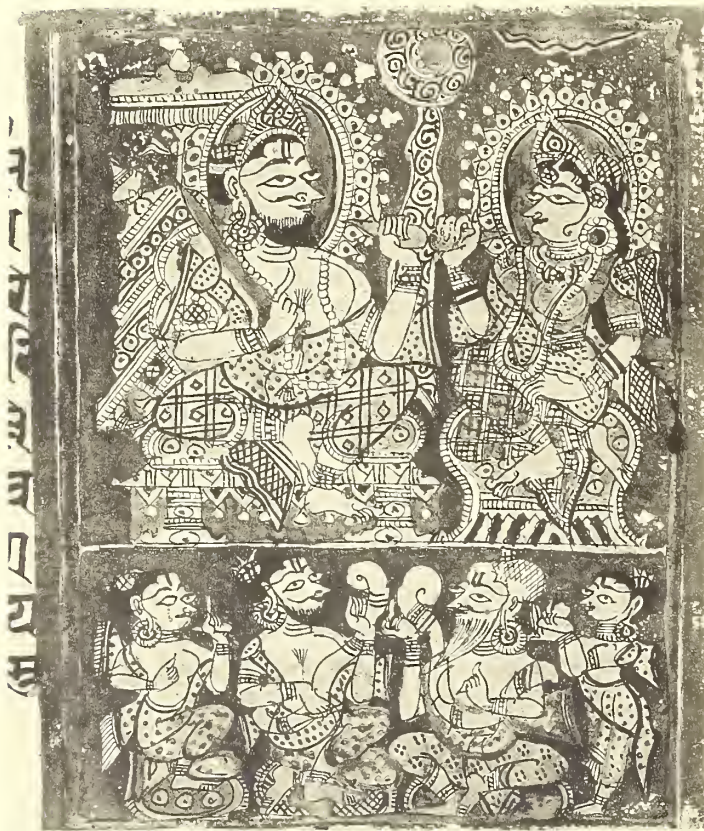


FIG. 48



FIG. 49

PLATE 14

FIG. 47. B17.2276,36 right (cf. C 42, pl. II.36). Siddhārtha listens to the expounding of the dreams. KS 66-83 (Jtr 245-247). The astrologers, expounders of dreams, and determiners of prognostications, on being summoned, bathed, arrayed themselves in auspicious garments, and came to Siddhārtha's court, where they were given the seats of honor that had been prepared (see under fig. 46). Siddhārtha told them the dreams. They recited the books on dreams, and assured him that the child would be either a universal emperor or a universal religious savior (Jina).

In the painting King Siddhārtha sits upon the familiar spired throne, while before him one of the dream interpreters (to represent the eight) reads from a book or roll of dreams, held in his left hand, and makes the prediction. Over the king's head is a parasol, on which is written the legend of the picture *svapnalakṣaṇapāṭhakāḥ* ("interpreters of the dream symbols"). Above the dream interpreter is a canopy; before him is a low stool, supporting some small objects, possibly the flowers and fruits which the text says the king offered the dream interpreters.

FIG. 48. B17.2277,23 (Hü 64, fig. 4; C 46, pl. VI.23). Siddhārtha and Triśalā listen to the expounding of the dreams. KS 69-83 (Jtr 245-247). When the interpreters had been shown their seats, King Siddhārtha placed Queen Triśalā behind the elaborately ornamented veil he had had drawn (see under fig. 46), had her sit upon a seat he had ordered placed there, and then the two listened to the interpretation.

In the painting the king and queen, fully ornamented, sit upon their respective seats, with the curtain hanging down between them. Below them are the interpreters, two of whom are like the interpreter in figure 47, but the third has a long white beard. Behind the last stands a male attendant, holding out his hands with an offering of flowers or fruits. Two of the interpreters are reading from rolls.

FIG. 49. B17.2277,24 (cf. C 47, pl. VI.24). Siddhārtha tells Triśalā the meaning of the dreams. KS 84-87 (Jtr 247). When the interpreters had finished, King Siddhārtha rose from his throne, went to Triśalā behind the curtain, and repeated to her what the interpreters had said—to her great delight.

The scene is essentially the same as that of its companion piece in the MS. (our fig. 48), but now, of course, the curtain is not present. Over the king and the queen each appears a parasol. In the lower register are two of the interpreters.

PLATE 15

FIG. 50. Fr.32r (cf. C 47, pl. VI.24). Siddhārtha tells Triśalā the meaning of the dreams. KS 84-87 (Jtr 247). See under figure 49.

King Siddhārtha sits upon a throne, holding a sword, the royal parasol above his head, while Triśalā faces him seated upon a kind of bench. Above her is a canopy ornamented with peacocks.

FIG. 51. Fr.33r (cf. C 50, 55, pls. XII.39, XVII.46). The interpreters of the dreams. KS 68-83 (Jtr 245-247). See under figure 47.

Four graybeard interpreters appear in two registers. Three hold books, or rolls, and two are dipping pens into inkwells.

FIG. 52. Ha.54r. Treasure jars in Siddhārtha's palace. KS 89-91 (Jtr 248-249). From the time when Mahāvīra was brought into the Jñātri family (Siddhārtha's clan) the servants of Vaiśramaṇa (Kubera, god of wealth) brought to Siddhārtha's palace treasure which had been buried in all sorts of places and forgotten. All the gold, silver, corn, seraglio, arms, subjects, glory of the Jñātris increased. In consequence Mahāvīra's parents decided to name him Vardhamāna ("the one experiencing increase").

In the painting appear nine jars of plenty (*navanidhā* . . . , according to the legend of the painting¹⁰), symbolizing the prosperity of Siddhārtha and his clan. They are set in three rows, and done with alternate red and blue backgrounds. The eyes, perhaps signifying omniscience, which appear with the lucky jar in figure 4, etc., are lacking here.

¹⁰ In Jo 252 *navanidhi* mean the nine treasures which appear to the universal emperor (Cakravartin) Bharata.

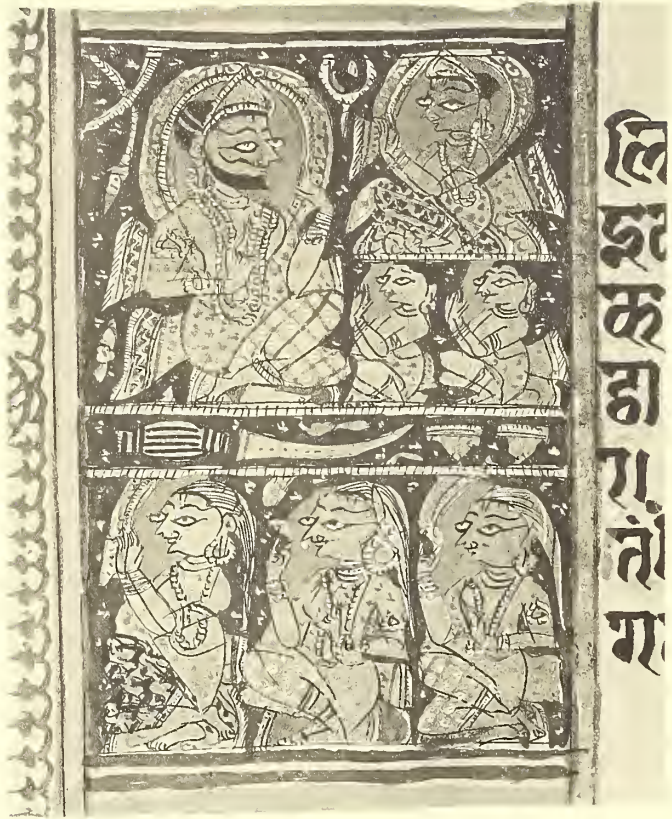


FIG. 54



FIG. 56

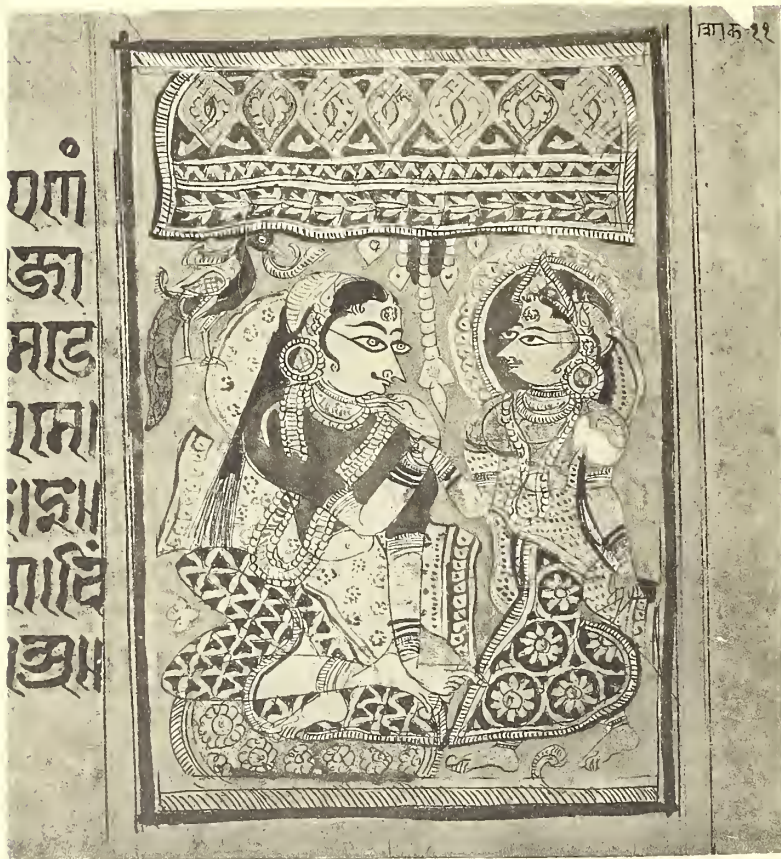


FIG. 53

23, 2
Kang 38, verso



FIG. 55

23, 2
Kang 39, verso

PLATE 16

FIG. 53. Fr,38v (cf. Hü 65-66; C 50, pl. XII.46). Triśalā's grief. KS 92 (Jtr 249). During Triśalā's pregnancy, the Venerable Mahāvīra, out of compassion for his mother, did not stir in her womb. But Triśalā, feeling no motion, feared that the embryo had died or fallen, and was plunged in sorrow. She sat resting her head upon her hand, lost in grief. All music, singing, and dramatic performances ceased in the palace, and the amusements of the people were suspended. Dejection reigned.

Under an elaborate canopy Triśalā sits on a cushion, her head bent in grief. Facing her stands a maid. Triśalā's dejection is indicated by the absence of her aureole and diadem and the lack of attention to her hair, which is unbraided.

FIG. 54. Hg,53v. Sadness in the palace. KS 92 (Jtr 249). When Triśalā, feeling no life in the embryo, fell into dejection, the amusements ceased in the palace. The drums and stringed instruments were laid down; the clapping of hands (to beat time) ceased; dramatic entertainments ceased; everywhere dejection reigned.

In the upper half of the picture Siddhārtha sits on a cushion, with three men sitting before him. In the lower half are three more persons, of whom the central one appears to be a woman, and possibly so are the others, or they might be the dancer and two musicians of figure 57. In a band running across the middle of the painting are the forsaken musical instruments—drums and a horn. The painting has the title *garbhākuśala*, "disaster of the embryo".

FIG. 55. Fr,39r (cf. Hü 66-67; C 50, pl. XII.46). Triśalā's joy. KS 93-94 (Jtr 249-250). The embryo of Mahāvīra, perceiving his mother's grief and understanding its cause, relieved her mind by quivering slightly, and now joy filled her heart. At that time the Venerable Mahāvīra made the decision not to enter the religious life so long as his parents remained alive.

In this painting, a companion piece to our figure 53, Triśalā has regained her zest for life. The aureole and diadem have reappeared, her hair is braided, she is adorned with all her finery, and she admires herself in a mirror. Two maids sit before her, perhaps attendants at her toilet.

FIG. 56. Hg,54r. Triśalā tells her joy. KS 94 (Jtr 250). When Triśalā felt the child quiver, she announced that the embryo was safe, and she rejoiced.

In the upper half of the painting Triśalā sits at the right, with two maids standing before her, to whom she is telling her relief. In the lower half she sits at the left side of the picture telling two others

PLATE 17

FIG. 57. Hg,54v. Rejoicing in the palace. Implicit in KS 94 (Jtr 250). After Triśalā told her good news, the interrupted pleasures of the palace were resumed.

Companion piece to our figure 54. In the upper half of the painting Triśalā is seated addressing two of her maids. In the lower half is festivity; a man plays the discarded drum of our figure 54; another man claps time with his hands; and a woman dances.

FIG. 58. Fr,40v (cf. Hü 67, fig. 6; C 42, 47, 51, 55, pls. II.41, VI.28, XII.48, XVII.56). Mahāvīra's birth. KS 96 (Jtr 250-251). In the middle of the night, in the first month of summer, in the month Caitra, on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunī, Triśalā gave birth to Mahāvīra.

Triśalā lies upon the usual type of bed, with the usual types of vessels beneath it (cf. under figs. 5, 16), the babe Mahāvīra held in her right arm. A maid is in attendance.

Alternative representations show the maid carrying flowers (?), as in our figure 59, or a torch (B17.2277,28, see C pl. VI.28) to light the darkness of midnight, or omit the maid altogether (Hü fig. 6).

Similar subjects appear in our figures 59, 90, 91, 103, 118, 119.

FIG. 59. Ha,59v (cf. under fig. 47). Mahāvīra's birth. KS 96 (Jtr 250-251). See under figure 58.

In this painting an oblong object appears below Triśalā's arm and the child. This is a part of the child's cradle equipment (cf. fig. 140b) and may be a reclining back.

FIG. 60. Hg,56v. The goddesses arrive. KS 97 (Jtr 251). On the night when Mahāvīra was born there was a divine luster caused by the descending and ascending gods. Cf. under figure 61.

The legend of the painting is *devāgamana*, "arrival of the gods (and goddesses)", but only goddesses are shown. These goddesses are the 56 *dikkumārīs* (direction goddesses) specifically mentioned by name at the corresponding point in Hemacandra's account of R̥ṣabha's birth (R̥ 2.273 ff., Jo 105 ff.). They came in groups of eight. Our painting shows eight, arranged in three rows. They bear various attributes.



FIG. 57

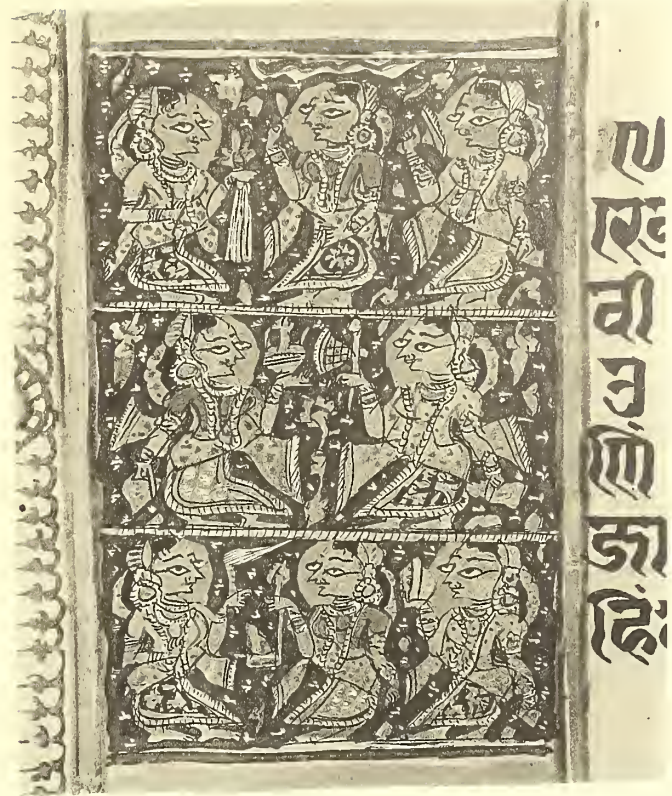


FIG. 60



FIG. 58

Fig 40, 41



FIG. 59



FIG. 62

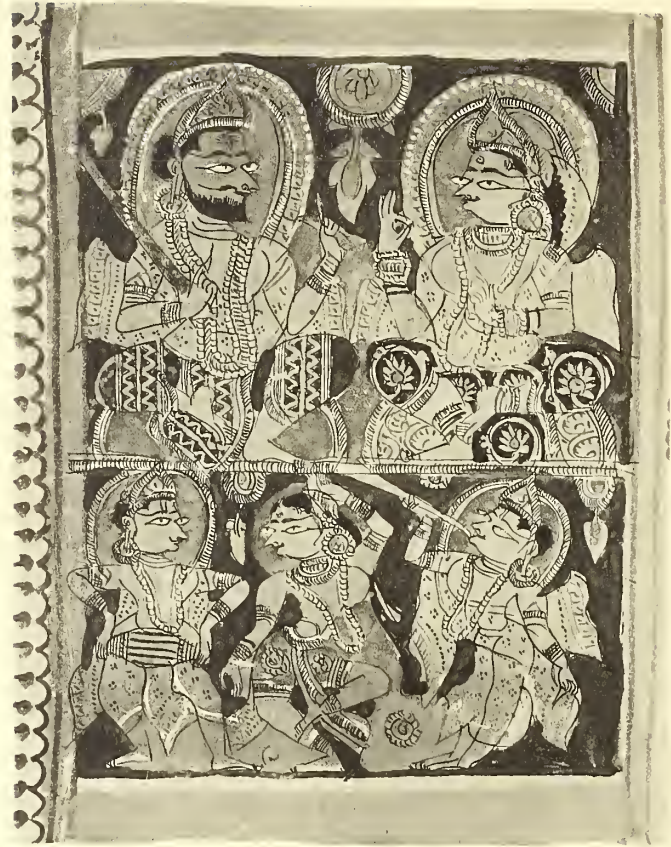


FIG. 63

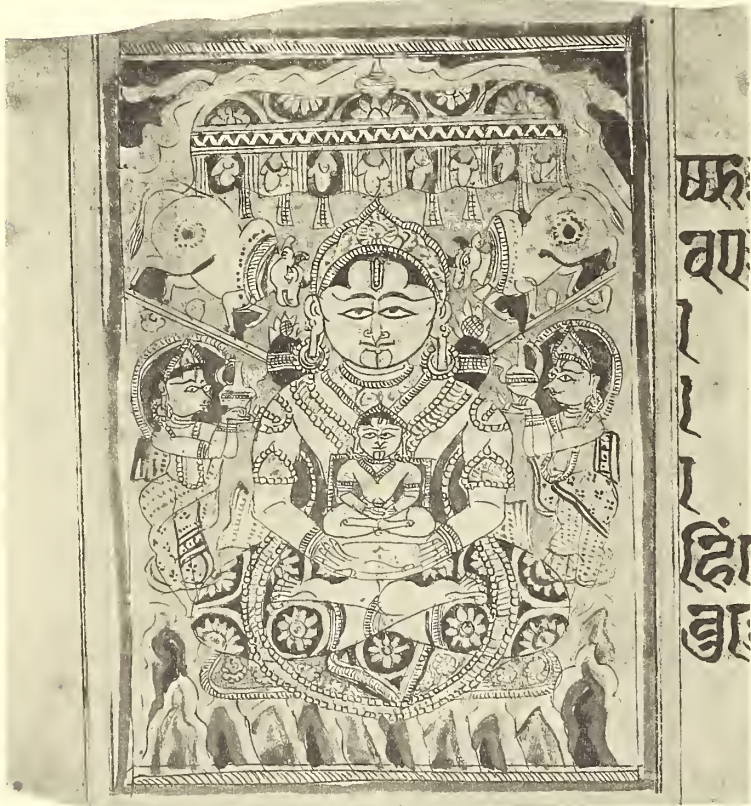


FIG. 61

23.3
Raj 41, recto



FIG. 64

23.3
Raj 44, recto

PLATE 18

FIG. 61. Fr,41r (cf. Hü 67-68, fig. 7; C 47, 55, pls. VI.29, XVIII.57). Mahāvīra's lustration and bath at birth. KS 97-99 (Jtr 251-252). On the night when Mahāvīra was born there was a divine luster caused by the descending and ascending gods; wealth was poured on the palace of Siddhārtha by the servants of Kubera; and the gods celebrated the festival of the birth bath of the Tīrthankara (*tittayara jammaṇābhiseya mahimāe kayāe*). Hemacandra (M 2.52 ff.) expands the account. The 56 *dikkumārīs* acted as midwives. Then Śakra came, threw the queen into a deep slumber with a sleeping charm, laid a false Mahāvīra by her side, and made himself fivefold. With one self he held the child in his arms, with a second self he held a parasol over the child, with a third and fourth he stood beside it waving fly-whisks, and with the fifth, bearing the thunderbolt, he danced before the child. Then all went to Mount Meru for the ceremony. The 63 other Indras came to bathe the child. The Master playfully pushed the tip of Mount Meru with his left great toe, and all the mountain peaks bent down before him, with accompanying amazement among the gods. Then the Indras anointed him with marvellous substances. Similar legends are told in connection with Pārśva (CP 344 ff.) and Ṛṣabha (R 2.273 ff., Jo 105 ff.). The anointing of Mahāvīra is mentioned in AS 2.15.9 (Jtr 192).

In our painting Mahāvīra sits on Śakra's lap. Beside him are two attendants, possibly two Indras representing the 63, holding pitchers of water. Above are two bulls, apparently two of four crystal bulls created by Śakra to stand in the four directions (cf. Jo 122). Above all is a royal parasol. The peaks of Mount Meru appear at the bottom of the scene. (Hü 67 needs a number of corrections in the description of this scene.)

Similar subjects appear in our figures 90, 103, 119.

FIG. 62. Ha,63v. Siddhārtha commands his officers to announce a festival. KS 99-100 (Jtr 252-253). At daybreak King Siddhārtha commanded the city warders to announce a festival, with freeing of prisoners, sweeping and watering of streets, decoration of the city, sports, and entertainments.

King Siddhārtha sits upon his throne, sword in hand, parasol overhead, faced by two officers, who receive his orders.

FIG. 63. Ha,64r. Siddhārtha celebrating Mahāvīra's birth festival. KS 102 (Jtr 253-254). The king and his seraglio celebrated the 10 days' festival decreed in honor of the birth of an heir to the kingdom.

In the upper register sits Siddhārtha, with his sword; beside him is Triśalā; both are enjoying the festival. In the lower register are a male drummer, a female dancer, and a male trumpeter.

FIG. 64. Fr,44r. Vigil on the sixth night after birth. KS 104 (Jtr 254). The parents of Mahāvīra celebrated the birth of the heir on the first day; they showed him the sun and moon on the third day; they observed the religious vigil on the sixth day (*chaṭṭhe divase dhammājāgarīyaṇi karenti*).

The painting (which the accompanying legend calls *chaṭṭhījāgarāṇa*, "vigil of the sixth or of Chaṭṭhī") shows four women, one holding a mirror, two others holding bulky objects which I cannot identify, and the fourth holding a slender object.¹¹

¹¹ There seems to be no help from the description of the modern festival in Mrs. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 193, where she says: "A little stool is covered with a piece of white cloth, and on it are placed a white sheet of paper and a white pen, a lamp of melted butter is lighted, and then some relative takes the baby on her lap, covers its head, and worships both the stool and its contents before the family retire to rest." Later Mother Chaṭṭhī comes to write the child's fortune.

PLATE 19

FIG. 65. Hg,62v. Purification ceremonies on eleventh day after birth. KS 104 (Jtr 254). On the eleventh day the impure ceremonies and operations connected with the birth of Mahāvīra were completed by his parents.

The title of our painting, not clearly written, seems to be *pāvane jātā* and possibly means "purification (after) birth". In the upper register sits Siddhārtha faced by a servant, to whom he is presumably giving orders. In the lower register is the king on an elephant, with two attendants preceding him. The king holds an object in his outstretched hand, possibly an offering. The attendants seem to be musicians, one blowing a conch (?), the other a trumpet (?). Before the king is his parasol.

FIG. 66. Ha,65r. The banquet on the twelfth day after birth. KS 104 (Jtr 253-254). After the eleventh day, when impure operations and ceremonies connected with the birth of a child had been performed, and the twelfth day had come, Mahāvīra's parents gave a great banquet (*bhoyana*) to all their relatives.

In the upper register sits a male, presumably King Siddhārtha, with a table before him on which is fruit. A female attendant brings him a vessel with some sort of liquid; she may possibly be meant for Triśālā. In the lower register another male is seated before a table—perhaps he is one of the guests—being served by a female, whose less pretentious aureole than that of the female above and lack of diadem may possibly indicate that she is a maidservant.

FIG. 67. Fr,46v. The youthful Mahāvīra and the jealous god. Implicit in KS 110 (Jtr 256) and in AS 2.15.14 (Jtr 193), in which passage it is mentioned that Mahāvīra lived 30 years before his parents died, enjoying all the pleasures of life. The incident is related by Hemacandra (M 2.103 ff.). When Mahāvīra was not yet eight years old, he used to play games becoming his age with other boys. Hari (Śakra) in his court one day, while describing the hero (*vīra*), said that all steadfast (*dhīra*) beings were inferior to Mahāvīra (*anumahāvīram*). One of the gods—his name is not given—full of prideful envy determined to shatter Mahāvīra's courage, and went where the Lord was playing. At that time Mahāvīra and his companions were engaged in the game *āmalakī*.¹² The god assumed the form of a serpent and appeared at the foot of a tree. All the other boys fled in terror, but Mahāvīra picked up the serpent as though it were a rope and threw it to the ground. The other boys were then ashamed and resumed the play. The god now took the form of a boy and came back. At this time the boys were climbing a tree. Mahāvīra got to the top first—what was that for him who was destined to reach the top of the universe?—where he shone like the sun on Mount Meru, while his companions hung below like the constellations or monkeys (pun in the word *śākhanygās*). Mahāvīra had won, and the wager had been that the winner should mount the back of the vanquished and ride them about. He therefore got on the backs of the other boys as though they were horses; foremost among the strong, he mounted the back even of the god. Then the god, with wicked intent, took the form of a terrifying demon and began to increase in size until he was larger even than the mountains. In his mouth that was like hell, his tongue looked like the serpent Takṣaka; on his head that was like the top of a mountain (or, as though on the peak Śiraḥśaila) his tawny hair flamed like a forest fire. His two dreadful tusks (or, rows of teeth) were like saws; his eyes blazed furiously like braziers of coals (*aṅgārasakaṭyau*); his brows twisted in a scowl were like two mighty serpents. He had not even stopped growing when the Lord struck him on the back with his fist with mighty strength, and that blow reduced him to a dwarf. The god, who had thus brought to actual demonstration the manliness of the Lord described by Indra, now took his true form, did reverence to the Lord, and went to his own residence.

The painting shows at the left Mahāvīra carrying in his left hand a staff (like those carried by cowherds in the Vaishnava MS. paintings in the Early Western Indian style, cf. BrEA 179) and in his right hand an object that looks like a short stick. In front of him is a tree, around which is coiled a snake (the god in disguise). At the right is the god with Mahāvīra on his shoulders. At the top are two boys, each holding a stick like Mahāvīra's; neither boy has a halo. Over all are clouds. This painting exemplifies "continuous action" (the portraying in one composition of two or more scenes from the same series).

¹² The paintings usually carry a legend *āmalīkrīḍā* (the *āmalī* or *āmalakī* game). The word *āmalī* or *āmaḷī* appears in Belsare's Etymological Gujarati-English Dictionary (3rd ed., Ahmedabad, 1927), p. 114, associated with the word *pīpaḷī* in the compound *āmaḷī-pīpaḷī* "a game for children". The two words refer to the *āmlā* (tamarind) and peepul trees. In connection with an incomplete and apparently garbled version of the story, Mrs. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 29, 1915, calls the game "tick" or "tig", which I understand to be "tag". But our paintings would indicate that it was played with crooked sticks. The legend of the corresponding painting in Ha,66v (not reproduced here) gives the game as *tindūsavṛkṣakrīḍā* "the tindūsa-tree game", but I can find out nothing about this game; PSM merely defines *tindūsa* as "tree, ball, a kind of game".



FIG. 65



FIG. 66

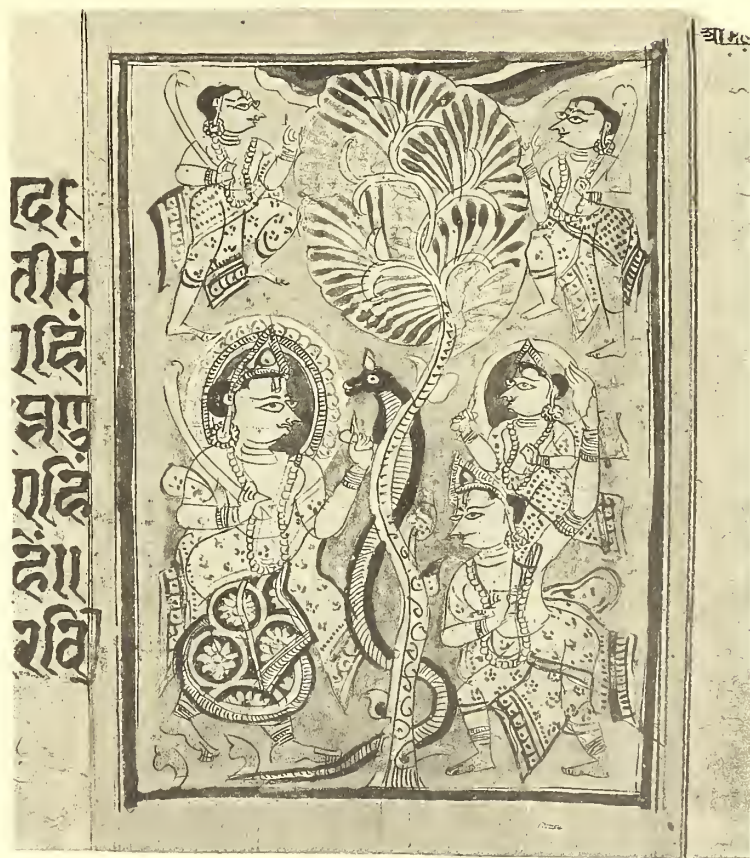


FIG. 67

22 - ju

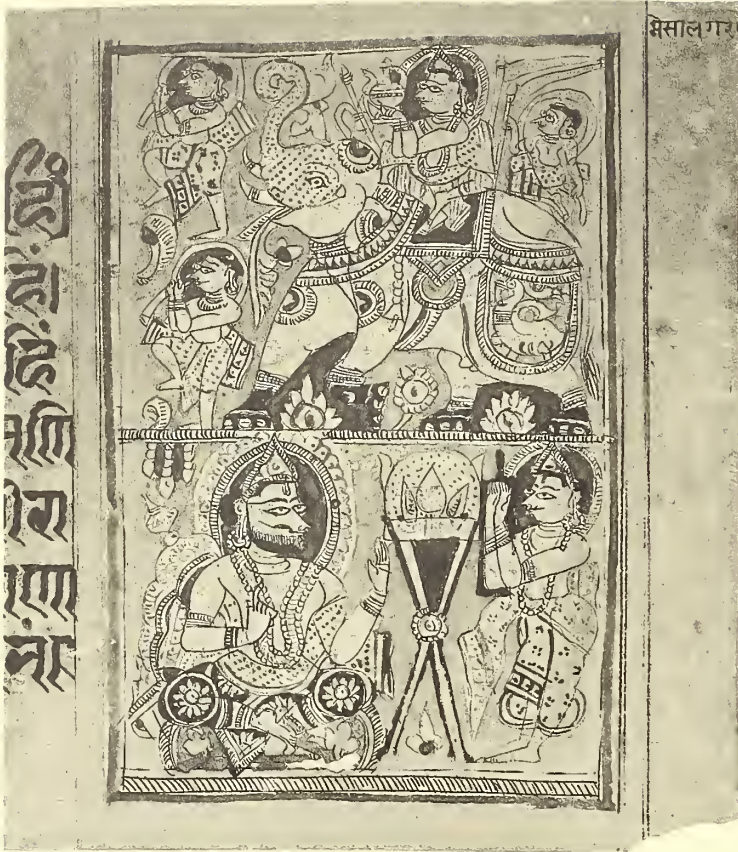


FIG. 68

23.32
Long 47, height

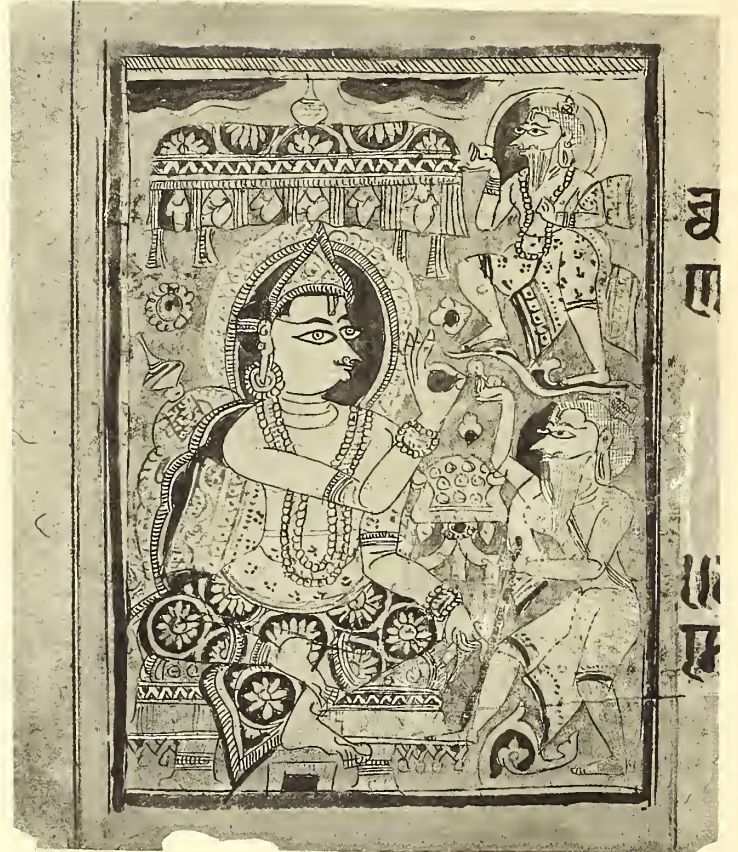


FIG. 70

23.32
48, height

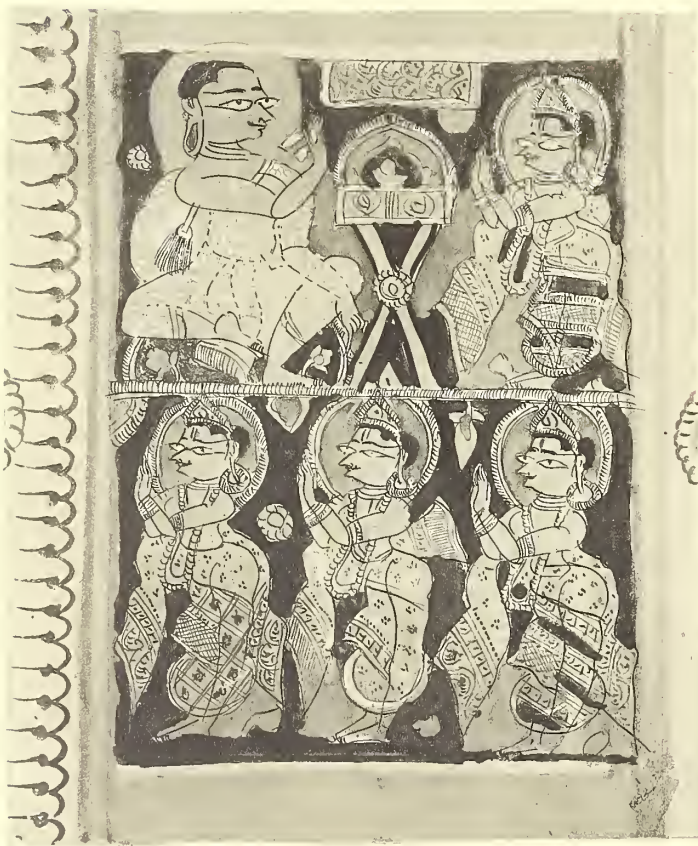


FIG. 69



FIG. 71

PLATE 20

FIG. 68. Fr,47r. Śakra comes with the gods to awaken Mahāvīra to his mission. Briefly in KS 110-111 (Jtr 256), more fully in AS 2.15.18-21 (Jtr 195-197). When the future Jina was ready to leave the world, the Laukāntika gods came to awaken him, saying, "Arhat, propagate the religion which is a blessing to all creatures in the world!" Śakra then produced a magic daīs with a throne and footstool. After first worshipping the future Jina, he set him on the daīs, anointed him, bathed him, clothed him, ornamented him, and then produced the palanquin in which the departure from the world was to take place.

This painting faces KS 110 (in Hc,59v it faces KS 104-105) and has the legend *mesālagaraṇa* (in Hc,59v *nisālagaraṇum*). In the upper register is Śakra approaching on his elephant bearing a water vessel—of attributes he has only the elephant-goad. Before the elephant go two trumpeters, behind comes a fly-whisk bearer. In the lower register is Mahāvīra seated on a throne with Śakra facing him in an attitude of worship. Between them is a stand with flowers.

FIG. 69. Ha,69v. The Laukāntika gods come to awaken Mahāvīra to his mission. Briefly in KS 110-111 (Jtr 256), more fully in AS 2.15.18-21 (Jtr 195-197). When the time had come for Mahāvīra to leave the world, the Laukāntika gods came to awaken him to his mission (cf. account given under fig. 68).

In the upper register sits Mahāvīra in monk's costume—apparently prematurely—the mouth cloth in his right hand, the broom under the right arm. There is a stand before him, and on the other side of it, in a posture of adoration, is a god. Below are three more gods in the same posture. The painting has a legend *vīrāgre lokāntikadevavi*.

FIG. 70. Fr,48r (cf. Hū 68; C 47, 51, 55, pls. VI.32, XII.56, XVIII.64). Mahāvīra gives away his possessions. KS 112 (Jtr 257). Preparatory to leaving the world and adopting the religious life, Mahāvīra abandoned all his property and for an entire year gave presents to the poor.

Mahāvīra is seated upon a throne, making gifts to two gray-bearded men. A footstool is under his left foot. In front of him is a stand heaped with flowers or jewels. Each of the poor men has an object in his hand, obviously a gift.

Similar subjects appear in our figures 71, 91, 111, 124. In a variant scene (Hg,64v, not reproduced here) the title is given as *Indrapraśna* (Indra's questions), apparently erroneous.

FIG. 71. Cleve,35v. Mahāvīra gives away his possessions. KS 112 (Jtr 257). See under figure 70.

This excellent miniature shows a number of variations in detail from figure 70. Note the row of swans on the canopy.

PLATE 21

FIG. 72. Fr,48v (cf. Hü 68-69, fig. 8; C 47, pl. VII.33). Mahāvīra in the initiation palanquin. KS 113-115 (Jtr 257-259). On the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīras, Mahāvīra, in the palanquin Candraprabhā, which had been prepared by Śakra, accompanied by a vast throng of gods and men, amidst their praises, went through the streets of the city to a park outside the city, and had the palanquin stop under an Aśoka tree, where he dismounted. -

In the elaborate palanquin, which resembles the porch of a temple, and is like a heavenly palace or vehicle (*vimāna*), sits Mahāvīra, fully dressed and ornamented (by Śakra, cf. AS 2.15.20-22, Jtr 196-199). Below are men carrying it (AS has a full description of a thousand men and gods as bearers). On each side of Mahāvīra is a female fly-whisk bearer (AS assigns these duties to Śakra and Īśāna). Above are a trumpeter and a conch-blower, possibly meant to typify the heavenly musicians mentioned in AS.

A similar subject is treated in figure 95.

FIG. 73. Fr,51r (cf. Hü 69-70, fig. 9; G1 pl. 29; C 42, 47, 51, 56, pls. II.49, VII.34, XII.60, XVIII.68). Mahāvīra plucks out his hair. KS 116 (Jtr 259); cf. AS 2.15.23 (Jtr 199-200). Descending from the palanquin, Mahāvīra divested himself of all his fine clothes and ornaments (which AS says were caught up by Kubera, the god of wealth), fasted a six-meal fast,¹³ put on a divine robe, and quite alone tore out his hair in five handfuls. The AS says that Śakra caught up the hair in a cup of diamond, and took it to the Ocean of Milk.

Under the aśoka tree is Mahāvīra, dressed only in a lower garment (*dhotī*), which is shown to be white by the white dots on the gold background, and a necklace. As he plucks out his hair, Śakra catches it (although it is also possible that the objects in Śakra's outstretched hands may be flower offerings). Śakra is four-armed and carries the elephant-goad as an attribute; over him is the parasol of royalty. He is on a seat, and so too is Mahāvīra, as specified in AS. Below are mountain peaks, in exaggerated conformity with the AS statement that the palanquin stopped on slightly raised ground. At the top of the picture are clouds.

Hüttemann (Hü 70) finds here, as in many other places, a rain of flowers from heaven. This idea is common in literature, and it is possible that the artist of the Berlin MS. series meant to represent such a rain. But it is also true that the artists of this school often put in floral ornaments to fill in the composition or as background ornament (cf. the illustrations from Hg), and the flowers in the Berlin MS. miniature may be only such fillers.

In a variant (Hg,69r, not reproduced here) the tree is not represented.

Similar subjects are treated in figures 74, 96, 111, 112, 124.

FIG. 74. Hf,36r. Mahāvīra plucks out his hair. KS 116 (Jtr 259). See under figure 73.

This fine miniature shows very few points of difference from that in figure 73.

¹³ This means eating on the first day only one meal in place of the two usual meals, on the second and third days omitting all meals, and on the fourth day again eating only one meal.

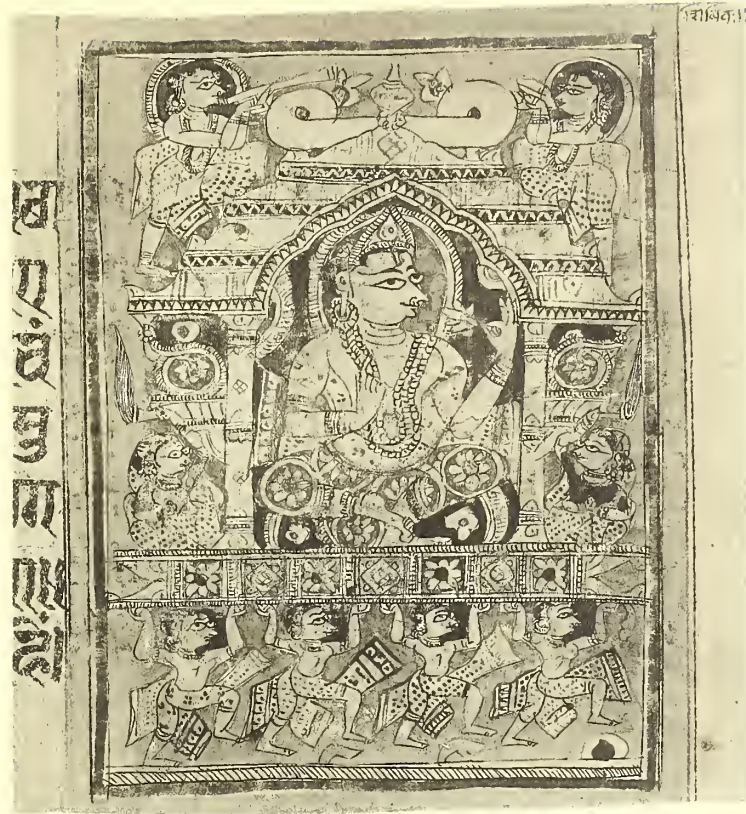


FIG. 72

23.34
May 20, 1927

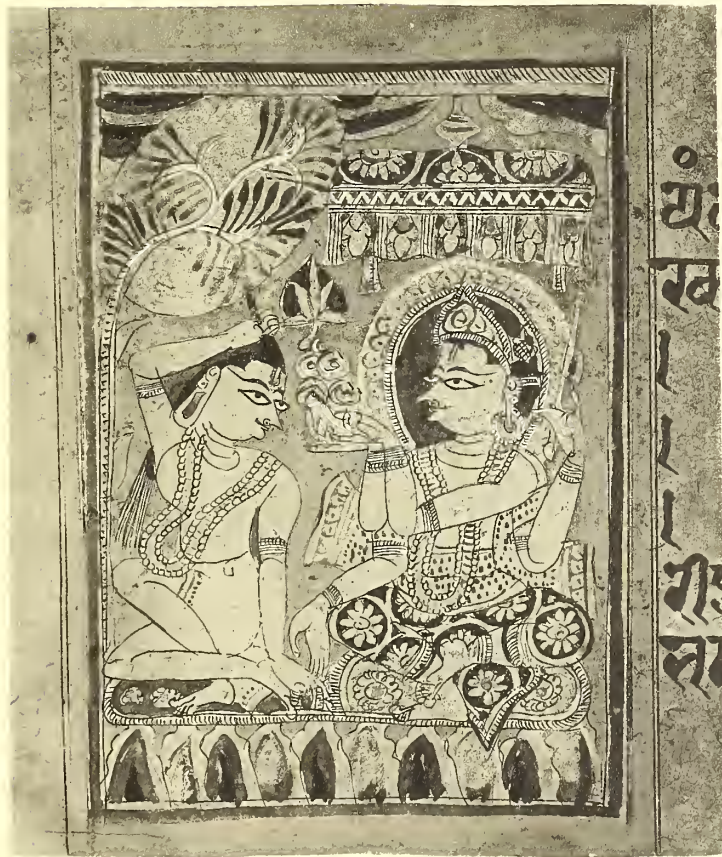


FIG. 73

23.35
May 21, 1927

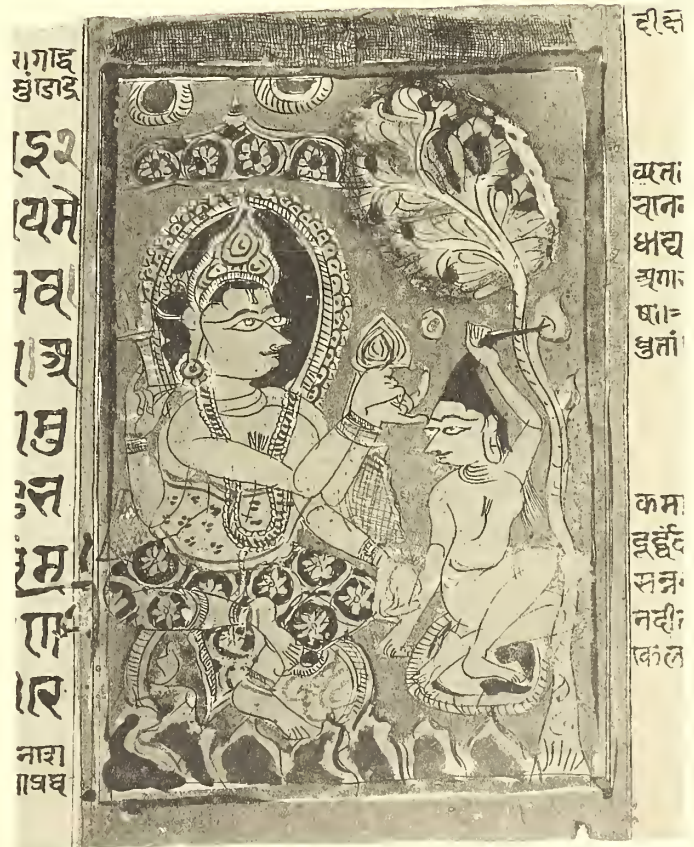


FIG. 74



FIG. 77 23.34

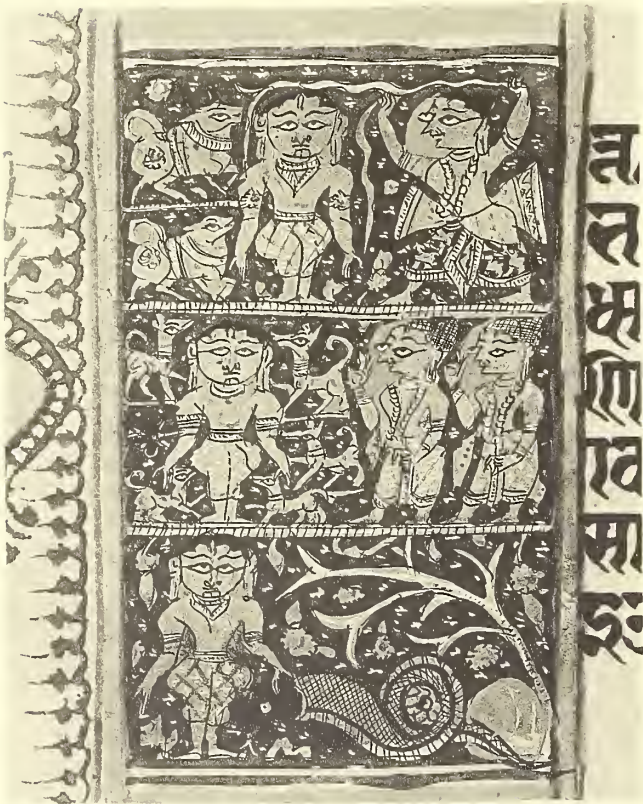


FIG. 75



FIG. 76

PLATE 22

FIG. 75. Hg,69v. Mahāvīra's austerities. KS 117-119 (Jtr 259-262); cf. AS 1.8 (entire) and 2.15.23-24 (Jtr 79-87, 200-201). The various specific episodes of his austerities illustrated in the paintings are not all mentioned in these two texts, but probably those missing from them appear in Hemacandra's version (M 10.3 and 4). It was not until the thirteenth year that Mahāvīra obtained omniscience. Many of the incidents dealt with by Hemacandra are not represented in the paintings; I select only those which I have found so treated. The paintings are regularly labelled *upasarga*, "trials endured while in meditation"; and it is therefore likely that the paintings depict only such incidents and do not deal with any other kind of happenings (such as the long and interesting story of Candanā, M 10.4.474-600, who became Mahāvīra's first disciple after his omniscience—M 10.4.597—and was made chief of the order of nuns, according to M 10.5.161 ff. and KS 135). I present first two paintings from the MS. Hg, each painting with three scenes.

(a) Assault of the cowherd. M 10.3.15-34. On plucking out his hair, Mahāvīra first gave half of his one garment to a Brahman named Soma, and then at evening went into *pratimā* (posture for meditation) near a village named Kūrmāra (cf. AS 2.15.24). At that time a cowherd came driving his bulls and left them grazing near Mahāvīra, while he himself went into the village to milk his cows. The bulls wandered into the forest, and when the cowherd returned he could not find them, and he spent the night in search. Meanwhile the bulls came back to Mahāvīra and lay down near him contentedly chewing the cud. After some time the cowherd came up, and when he saw the bulls there, he at once jumped to the conclusion that Mahāvīra meant to steal them. In a rage he took up the bulls' binding thong to strike the lord. Just at that time Śakra happened to wonder how Mahāvīra was faring on his first day, and he saw what was going on. He stayed the cowherd's hand and rebuked him. Then he said that for 12 years Mahāvīra would suffer trials before obtaining omniscience, and he offered to go along as a bodyguard. But Mahāvīra, coming out of meditation and for the first time noticing what was taking place, declined, saying that the Tīrthankaras always obtain omniscience by their own heroic efforts. Śakra therefore compromised by appointing as a bodyguard a Vyantara god Siddhārtha, who had been Mahāvīra's maternal nephew (mother's sister's son), telling him to ward off those who would interfere with Mahāvīra's meditation.

In our painting Mahāvīra stands motionless in meditation, his eyes fixed on the tip of his nose (*nāsāgranyastanayana*), with arms hanging down (*pralambitabhujadvaya*). On one side are the bulls; on the other the cowherd with the thongs upraised to strike Mahāvīra.

(b) Austerities in the country of Lāḍha. AS 1.8.3 (Jtr 84-85). The most unfriendly country that Mahāvīra traversed in his wanderings, according to the AS, was that of Lāḍha. There he endured not only the attacks of grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats, but also the assaults of the village dogs, which their masters did not call off but rather urged on with the cry *chucchu* (English "sic 'em!"). Most monks wandering through the region carried staffs to ward off the dogs, but Mahāvīra did not. He patiently endured the dogs and the villagers' cruel treatment. When he came to a village, the inhabitants would forbid him to enter; they would strike him with sticks, their fists, clods, potsherds; they tore his hair; they covered him with dust; they tossed him up and let him fall. All these trials he endured without being disturbed.

In our painting Mahāvīra stands at the left in *pratimā* (posture of meditation), while the dogs attack him, and also an insect. Two men stand by, presumably villagers, who appear to be urging the dogs on.

(c) Attack by the serpent Caṇḍakaśika. The story appears in M 10.3.225-279. On his way to Śvetavī Mahāvīra was advised by some cowherds to avoid the direct road, because on it was a forest where lived a fierce serpent whose very look was poison (*dyḡviṣa*, *dyṣṭiviṣa*). Mahāvīra, however, was aware of the serpent's previous existences, and saw that it had lived through a number of existences as a fierce-tempered and violent creature, in the last preceding the present being born as an ascetic of the Kauśika family, whose evil ways had won him the name Caṇḍakaśika, "Fierce Kauśika". But Mahāvīra perceived that the serpent was now ready for awakening. He entered

the forest, which was bare and desolate, full of dried up and twisted trees, piles of dead leaves, and ant hills, and came to an old leaf hut. There he engaged in meditation. The serpent saw him, and breathed out his deadliest looks and most fatal blasts, but they had no effect. Then he bit the master's feet, but again fruitlessly. All his poison was as nectar. Then the master spoke, "Awake, awake!" At these words the serpent recalled its previous existences and repented. On the spot it gave up violence. Soon the cowherds came, and great was their astonishment. Presently along came vendors of ghee (melted and clarified butter) and they dropped ghee on the serpent. Ants, attracted by the odor, came to eat it. The serpent never moved, and when the ants finished with him, he looked like a sieve (*titaü*). After a fortnight's agony the serpent died and went to heaven.

Our painting shows the desolate forest with its bare trees. The serpent is just in the act of biting Mahāvīra's feet. Under the tree is a red object, possibly meant for an ant hill. Mahāvīra stands undisturbed in meditation.

FIG. 76. Hg,73v. Mahāvīra's austerities (continued). KS 117-119 (Jtr 259-262); cf. AS 2.15.23-24 (Jtr 200-201). See under the preceding figure.

The painting is in three registers, but I believe shows four scenes, two being on the bottom register.

(a), (b), (c) Three of Saṅgamaka's attacks upon Mahāvīra, being part of the 20 attacks upon Mahāvīra's meditation made by the jealous god Saṅgamaka (M 10.4.160-318). This god, hearing Śakra praise Mahāvīra for fortitude in meditation, sets out to interrupt it; and attacks him with a dust storm, ants, gnats, *ghṛtelikā* (roaches ?), scorpions, mongooses, snakes, mice, an elephant, a she-elephant, a demon (*piśāca*), a tiger, dissuasion by his father and mother from the quest, a vessel of food at his feet, fire at his feet, an outcast (*caṇḍāla*) who set cages of birds over Mahāvīra's body to peck it, a burning wind, a *kālacakra* weapon; then attractive temptations, such as the music of birds. He tells Mahāvīra he is a god who has been tempting him and he now offers heaven as a reward; finally he shows beautiful women. The trials last six months, but Mahāvīra stands unheeding. When Mahāvīra finishes his meditation and goes to break his fast, Saṅgamaka interferes by having improper food offered.

In the top register is the temptation by women. This gets the most elaborate treatment in Hemacandra (M 10.4.257-280). A heavenly woman dances beside a stream, while Mahāvīra stands unnoticed.

In the middle register the subject is perhaps doubtful. It is possibly Saṅgamaka appearing as a god (M 10.4.248-253); he has four arms but is without attributes (cf. fig. 120 from same MS.). If the subject is Saṅgamaka as a god, specifically Śakra, the cow (assuming it is not a bull) before him would probably be Kāmaduh, the wishcow that grants whatever it is asked. Saṅgamaka tells Mahāvīra in the text that he shall have all his desires, but there is no mention of the cow.

An alternative explanation of the painting might be that it is Śakra prophesying the 12 years of austerities Mahāvīra is destined to endure (see p. 54); the cow would then be a bull. See under figure 75a. The objection to this interpretation is that it puts the scene far out of order.

In the bottom register are two scenes. At the left stands Mahāvīra in strict meditation. Beside him kneels a male (Saṅgamaka ?), who seems to be doing something with an object at Mahāvīra's feet, while with the other hand he strokes Mahāvīra. If it is Saṅgamaka, the object might be the fireplace and fire Saṅgamaka lighted, and the vessel of food he respectfully offered at Mahāvīra's feet; the fire burnt Mahāvīra severely (M 10.4.226-227). An alternative interpretation might take this to represent part of the story depicted in the other section of this bottom register, and would show the shampooing of Mahāvīra's body.

The last scene is part of the story of the cowherd who drove the spikes in Mahāvīra's ears, which will be given in detail under the next painting. Here we have Siddhārtha and Kharaka standing beside Mahāvīra.

FIG. 77. Fr,51v (cf. Hü 70, fig. 10; C 51, pl. XII.60). Mahāvīra's austerities. KS 117-119 (Jtr 259-262); cf. AS 2.15.23-24 (Jtr 200-201). Cf. under figure 75. The story chiefly illustrated in this painting is that of Mahāvīra and the cowherd who drove the spikes in his ears (M 10.4.618-649).

When Mahāvīra had come almost to the end of his quest, he was in a forest engaged in ascetic meditation. Certain *vedanīya* (sensation) karma, which he had accumulated in a previous existence by pouring melted tin into another person's ears, had come to the point of ripening. His victim had been reborn as a cowherd, who had at this time let his bulls loose outside the village, while he went to milk the cows (cf. motivation of scene in fig. 75*a*). The bulls wandered away. The cowherd came seeking them, and chanced upon Mahāvīra. He asked if he had seen the bulls, but Mahāvīra was too deeply absorbed in meditation to hear him. "Sir, where are my bulls? Why don't you answer me, you monkling? Don't you hear? Or are your earholes useless?" When Mahāvīra still did not reply, the cowherd in a blind fury took two spikes and drove them into the Master's ears until they met inside his head and became one. Then he cut off the protruding ends that no one might see them and draw them out, and left.

When Mahāvīra had finished his meditation, he went to a nearby village and entered the house of a merchant named Siddhārtha to break his fast. A physician named Kharaka was there, who by his unusual insight recognized Mahāvīra's true character and acclaimed him for his fortitude in carrying arrows in his body. Siddhārtha was doubtful, but Kharaka pointed out the spikes in Mahāvīra's ears. While the two were discussing the matter, Mahāvīra went outside the village to a grove, where he engaged in pious meditation (*śubhadhyāna*, *śukladhyāna*). Siddhārtha and Kharaka hastened after him with medical appurtenances. They bathed Mahāvīra with a vessel (*dronī*) of oil and had powerful shampooers rub him. Under the shampooing Mahāvīra's joints were all loosened, and with them the spikes fell apart inside his head like a pair of tongs coming open, and out they dropped from his earholes covered with blood. At the same time the *vedanīya* karma came out. The pain was so great that Mahāvīra emitted a mighty cry like that of a mountain struck by a thunderbolt, which would have burst the earth had not the Master taken care to save it. Siddhārtha and Kharaka asked and received forgiveness for causing Mahāvīra pain, and went home. Although they had caused him pain, they had acted with good intentions, and in return were reborn in heaven as gods. The cowherd was reborn in the seventh hell.

The painting combines several episodes from Mahāvīra's numerous trials (*upāsarga*) as described under figures 75 and 76. He is standing between two trees, which represent the forests or groves where the various events took place. The lion (or tiger) and the bird are some of the trials inflicted by Saṅgamaka. (See under fig. 76.) Two male figures stand beside Mahāvīra, the one on the left presumably being the physician Kharaka, who is ladling oil out of a receptacle, the other, in an attitude of reverence, presumably being Siddhārtha.

In variants snakes are coiled about Mahāvīra, scorpions attack him, insects fly about his head. (See under fig. 76.)

PLATE 23

FIG. 78. Ha,74r (cf. Hü 70, fig. 10; C 51, pl. XII.60). Mahāvīra's austerities. KS 117-119 (Jtr 259-262). See under figures 75-77.

Mahāvīra is represented three times. In the upper register he is attended by Kharaka and Siddhārtha, who hold the spikes that have come out of his earholes. In the lower register he is seen at the left between two arched trees, and this time with two lions (or tigers) raging at his feet, which he does not notice. At the right he stands between two jars (perhaps of the oil used for shampooing him or the vessel of food Saṃgamaka offered him), while birds roost unnoticed on his ears and peck at his head.

FIG. 79. Ha,78r. Mahāvīra's omniscience. KS 120 (Jtr 263). During the thirteenth year of austerity, on the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, outside the town Jṛmbhikagrāma, not far from an old temple, in a field under a sāl tree, Mahāvīra, squatting on his heels, reached the highest knowledge.

Our picture shows him in the squatting position, but the temple and the tree are missing. Overhead is a canopy, while beside Mahāvīra is a worshipping male, who may not unreasonably be taken for Śakra in spite of the fact that the text does not mention him (nor does the AS 2.15.27, Jtr 202); for the text does say that on the night Mahāvīra obtained perfect knowledge, the gods descended from heaven and ascended, and they are doubtless here symbolized by a single representative, who would normally be their leader Śakra. Hemacandra (M 10.5.5) says that the Indras came accompanied by the gods.

FIG. 80. Fr,54v (cf. Hü 74-75, fig. 12; C 28-29, 43, 47, 51, 55, pls. II.53, VII.37, XIII.64, XVIII.71). Mahāvīra's *samavasaraṇa*. Implied in KS 120-121 (Jtr 263-264). When a Jina obtains perfect knowledge, the gods prepare his *samavasaraṇa*. The earth is cleansed for a space a *yojana* around, scented, and ornamented. Three walls are erected, the innermost of jewels, the middle of gold, and the outermost of silver. There are four jewelled gates to each wall. In the center is a pedestal with a tree, and under the tree are four lion thrones. The throne on the east is occupied by the Jina; the three others by reproductions of him. There he preaches to gods, men, and animals. The *samavasaraṇa* may be either round, as here, or square, as in figure 99. Cf. Bhandarkar, in *Indian Antiquary* 40.125-130, 153-161; Jo 190-194.

In the painting Mahāvīra sits within the *samavasaraṇa*, with two Yakṣas as attendants. He is not in monk's garb, but is in the ornamented array common to a perfected being (Siddha); cf. figure 81.

Subjects similar to this are presented in figures 99, 113, 126.



FIG. 80

Lang 54, verso



FIG. 78



FIG. 79



FIG. 81

233 w
Leaf 56, verso

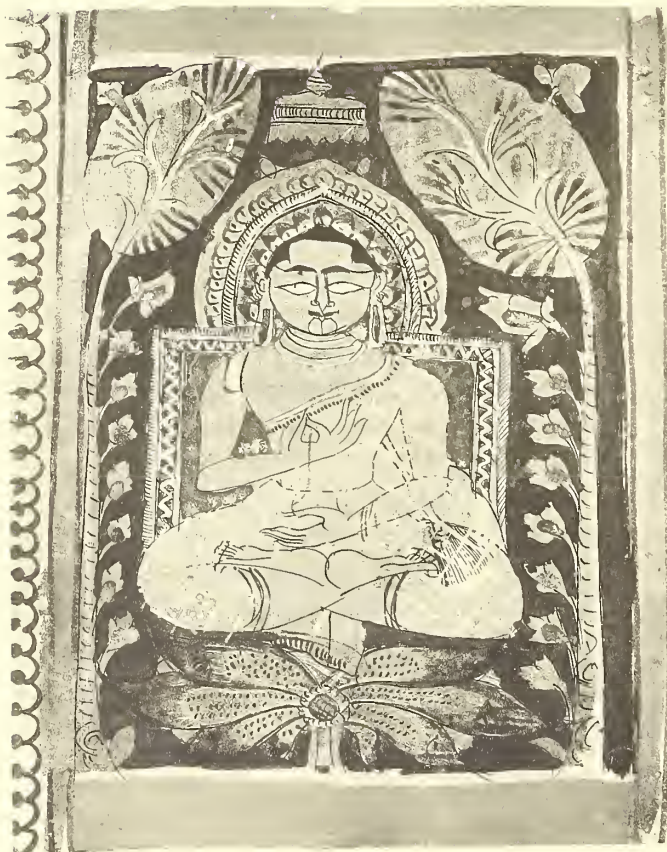


FIG. 82

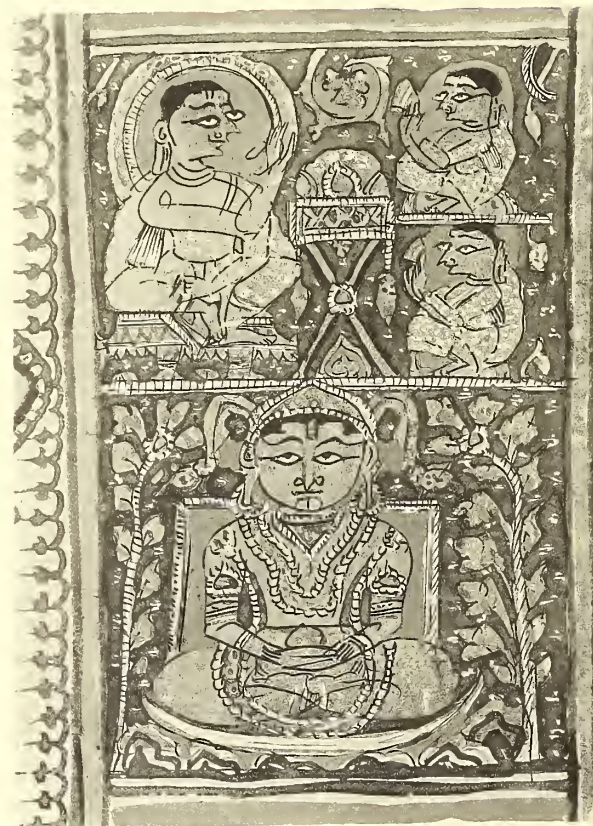


FIG. 83

शिव
काल
सर्व
त्रय

PLATE 24

FIG. 81. Fr,56r (cf. Sh pl. V; Hü 74-75, fig. 12; C 26, 43, 47, 51, 56, pls. III.55, VII.38, XIII.66, XVIII.73). Mahāvīra as a Siddha (liberated soul). KS 123-124 (Jtr 264-265). On death a liberated soul goes to the Siddhaśilā, or Īṣatprāgbhāra (see Kirfel 301-302), which is at the top of the universe. This resembles an inverted white parasol, being made of pure white gold, 4,500,000 *yojanas* long and as many wide, eight *yojanas* thick at the middle but tapering off till at the edges it is thinner than a fly's wing. All varieties of Siddhas (perfected beings) go there after death; of these the Tīrthankaras are the foremost. There the released souls dwell in omnipotence and omniscience, perfectly blissful.

Mahāvīra, fully ornamented as in figure 2, sits on a throne, hands in lap, one above the other, palm upwards. Over his head is a peculiar kind of floral ornament which looks like part of the headdress, but in origin seems to have been free from it (see in the oldest published miniatures of this style, Br 116, pls. 1, 3). Above is a highly conventionalized parasol. A lion, the cognizance of Mahāvīra, is probably intended by the lines in the center of the throne pedestal. Below Mahāvīra is the thin crescent representing the Īṣatprāgbhāra, and beneath it are mountain peaks. At the sides of the painting are trees, which bend above the Tīrthankara.

Sh pl. V wrongly identifies the scene as Mahāvīra's omniscience (for which see fig. 79).

Similar subjects appear in figures 100, 114, 128.

FIG. 82. Ha,82r. Indrabhūti Gautama's omniscience. KS 127 (Jtr 265-266). On the night when Mahāvīra died, his eldest disciple, Indrabhūti of the Gautama family, by realizing that affection was out of place, even when directed toward his master, finally overcame all the bonds, and won perfect knowledge.

The miniature shows Indrabhūti framed like a temple image in its niche. He is dressed in the robes of a Śvetāmbara monk, the whiteness being indicated by crisscrossed white lines and dots on a gold background. His right shoulder is bare, but over it is a narrow white object, probably his mouth cloth. Under the left arm is his broom. The left hand rests upon his lap, the right is raised in a teaching gesture. He sits upon an open plant, perhaps a lotus. The painting has a legend *gautamajñāna*, "omniscience of Gautama."

FIG. 83. Hg,76v. (a) Indrabhūti Gautama's omniscience; (b) Mahāvīra as a Siddha. KS 123-124, 127 (Jtr 264-266). See under figures 81, 82.

The representation of Mahāvīra as a Siddha presents no difficulties, but that of Gautama in the upper register is puzzling. The legend of the painting is *gautamajñāna*, "Gautama's omniscience", but the representation is unusual. A monk sits on a throne preaching to two nuns (the sex is indicated by the robes which extend up behind the neck to the head). Before the monk is his *sthāpanācārya* (substitute for his spiritual preceptor in the latter's absence). This does not, as far as I know, fit in with the story of Gautama's omniscience. He had been sent by Mahāvīra to awaken Devaśarman.

PLATE 25

FIG. 84. Ha,82v. The festival of lights. KS 128 (Jtr 266). On the night when Mahāvira died, the 18 confederated kings instituted an illumination on the Poṣadha, which was a fast day. They said, "Since the light of holy knowledge is gone, let us make a material illumination!"

Under a canopy are three males, probably typifying the 18 kings, holding torches. The scene bears the legend *divāḥi* (festival of lights), and Jacobi (Jtr 266n) says that the Jains celebrate the nirvāṇa of Mahāvira with a festival of lights on the new moon of the month Kārttika.

FIG. 85. Ha,84v. Mahāvira with his community. KS 134-137 (Jtr 267-268). When Mahāvira died, he left a congregation of 14,000 monks headed by Indrabhūti, 36,000 nuns headed by Candanā, 159,000 laymen headed by Śāṅkhaśataka, 318,000 laywomen headed by Sulasā and Revatī.

Our painting, which bears the legend *vīra parivāra agre* and faces KS 136-137, may reasonably be interpreted as depicting Mahāvira seated on a throne within a shrine, holding his mouth cloth and broom, faced on the lower tier (so as to be at the Master's right) by Indrabhūti, as head of the monks, and on the upper tier by Śāṅkhaśataka, as head of the laymen.

FIG. 86. Ha,85r. Mahāvira preaching to monks and nuns. KS 138-145 (Jtr 268). The text categorizes the monk and nun followers of Mahāvira under heads according to their various religious achievements and qualities.

In the upper register is seated Mahāvira; before him stand two figures, the one in front having the robe up behind the neck and head, indicating that the figure is female; the one in the rear being a male. On the lower register Mahāvira appears again, holding his mouth cloth while he preaches, addressing a monk who is possibly Indrabhūti, head of the order after Mahāvira's death. Between them is a stand (*sthāpanācārya*) like those used today by monks to support the symbol of the master which a monk must always have before him when he engages in religious exercise without his spiritual master's presence.

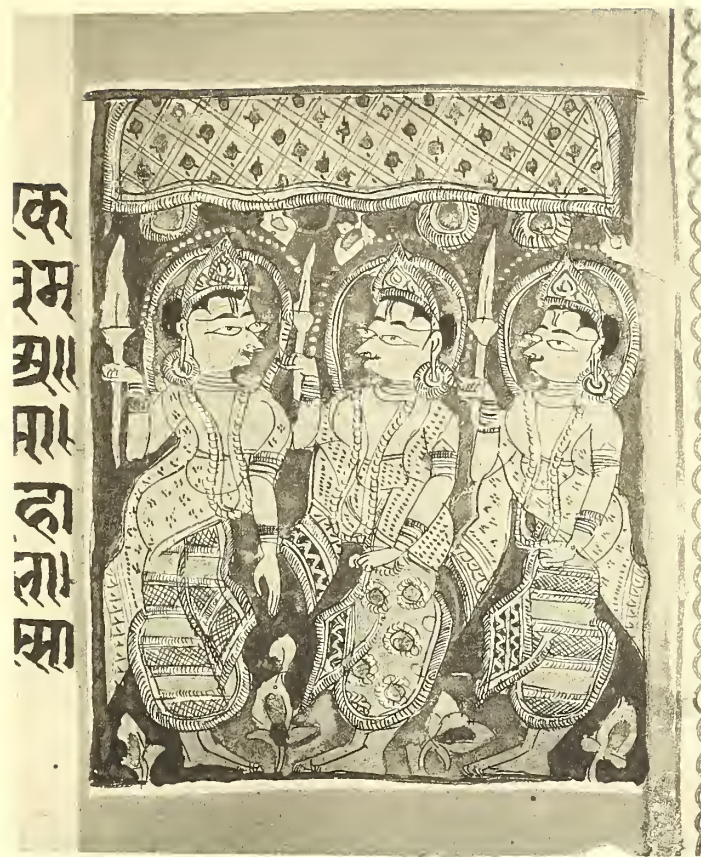


FIG. 84



FIG. 85



FIG. 86



FIG. 89

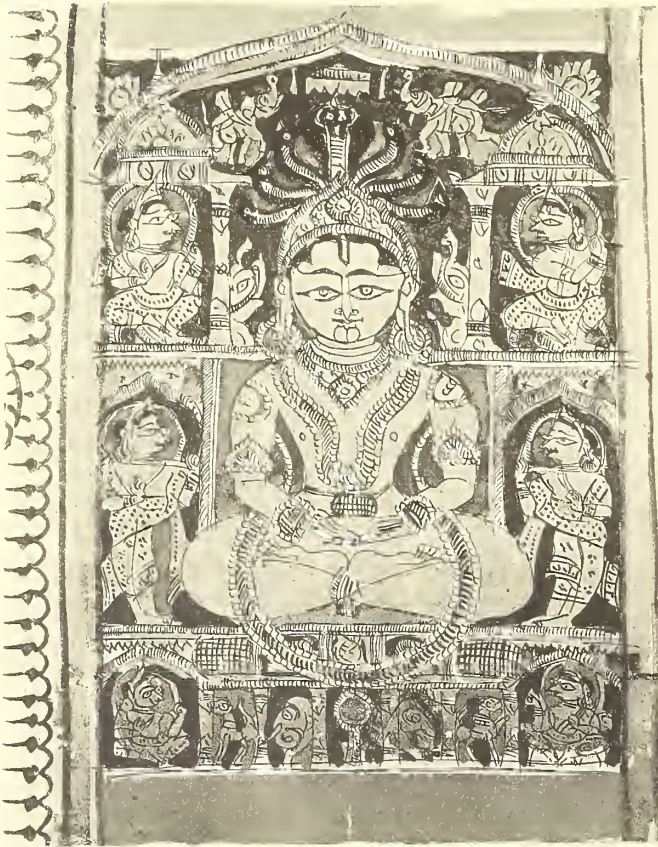


FIG. 87



FIG. 88

PLATE 26

FIG. 87. Ha,88v (cf. pl. I; Hū 71-77, fig. 11; Gl pl. 29; C 43, 48, 51, 56, pls. III.50, VII.41, XIII.72, XIX.89). Pārśva in the Prāṇatakalpa heaven. KS 150 (Jtr 271). Before being born, Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthakara, had lived for 20 *sāgaropamas* (an incredible period of time; cf. Kirfel 339) in the Prāṇatakalpa heaven. Thence, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Viśākhā, he took the form of an embryo in the womb of Vāmā, wife of King Aśvasena of Benares.

The treatment is closely analogous to the treatment of Mahāvīra in the Puṣpottara heaven before being born on earth. (See fig. 2.) The variations in detail need no comment, with the exception of the seven-headed serpent that shelters Pārśva, and regularly appears with him. So, too, on the pedestal below Pārśva is probably his cognizance, a serpent, but the drawing is not clear.

The serpent is intimately connected with the legend of Pārśva (see B1; CP). Many existences before, two brothers had lived, one with the seed of righteousness in his soul, the other with the seed of evil, which led him to kill the first brother. The two were reborn nine times, and in four of the rebirths the wicked one killed the righteous. In four of the others the righteous was reborn in a heaven; in three of them the wicked one was reborn in a hell. In the ninth existence of the wicked soul it was embodied in a Brahman boy, who became an ascetic Kamaṭha. At the same time the righteous soul was embodied in Prince Pārśva. One day Pārśva saw Kamaṭha in a park outside the city engaged in the penance of five fires, that is, with four fires around him, while the sun beat down from overhead. By his superior knowledge Pārśva perceived that a log in one of Kamaṭha's fires contained a family of snakes imprisoned. Over Kamaṭha's remonstrance, Pārśva had his servants split the log, from which the snakes then emerged. The people applauded, but Kamaṭha was angered (so in CP 353, but differently in B1 113 f.). Some time later Pārśva saw a picture of the preceding Tīrthakara, named Ariṣṭanemi, and inspired by it forsook the worldly life to enter upon the struggle for perfect knowledge. While he was engaged in austerities, the wicked soul of Kamaṭha, now reborn as the Asura Meghamālin (whose name means "garlanded with clouds"), under the influence of the rage he had felt when Pārśva showed superior knowledge concerning the snakes, attacked Pārśva with wild animals and a fierce storm. But the serpent which Pārśva had rescued, now reborn as Dharāṇa (or Dharāṇendra), lord of the Nāgas in the underworld, came and spread his seven hoods over Pārśva's head as shelter. Dharāṇa then lectured the Asura on his wickedness and ingratitude toward Pārśva, who had saved him from unwitting sin. The Asura repented and determined to lead a righteous life. Pārśva obtained omniscience.

Similar subjects to that of this painting appear in our figures 2, 101, 102, 116.

FIG. 88. Ha,89r. King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā in Benares. KS 150 (Jtr 271). The parents of Pārśva were King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā of Benares.

The painting shows a porch with a male figure seated upon a cushion. He is evidently King Aśvasena, and the scene is meant to be familiar, for he does not carry the sword which is a king's attribute on public occasions. Before him stands another figure, apparently meant for Queen Vāmā, although it has all the signs of being masculine. It has the U-shaped forehead mark that pertains to males and only one breast is drawn with fullness; at the same time the bodice of the female costume is lacking. (See Introduction, p. 2.) Except for the legend *vānārasi aśvasena vāmādevī* (Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā in Benares), I should not have identified the scene thus; and, as it is, in making the identification, I must allow for errors on the part of the artist. Around two sides of the scene flows the river Ganges. Water is indicated by the frequently employed crossed lines, and here fish are also represented. In the lower right-hand corner is a swan.

FIG. 89. Hg,78v. Two scenes in one: (a) Vāmā conceives Pārśva; (b) three nuns. Implicit in KS 150 (Jtr 271); explicit in CP 332, 352, where it is stated that at the time of conception Vāmā saw a serpent crawling by her side (*pārśva*). This was thought to be a sky serpent come to be the embryo. The serpent is Pārśva's cognizance.

In the upper part of the painting Vāmā lies somewhat uncomfortably upon a short bed, and the serpent is beside her.

In the lower half of the painting three nuns are in conversation.

PLATE 27

FIG. 90. Fr,62r. Two scenes in one: (a) Pārśva's birth; (b) Pārśva's lustration and bath at birth. KS 152-154 (Jtr 272). See description of corresponding events in life of Mahāvīra under figures 58, 61.

Similar subjects appear elsewhere among our illustrations; see under figures 58, 61.

In a Kalpasūtra manuscript belonging to H. Kevorkian a painting corresponding to this shows Pārśva at birth standing upright in his mother's arms, with a crown above his head.

FIG. 91. Hb,81v. Two scenes in one: (a) Pārśva's birth; (b) Pārśva gives away his possessions. KS 152-157 (Jtr 272). See description of corresponding events in the life of Mahāvīra under figures 58, 70.

For lists of paintings presenting similar subjects see under figures 58, 70.

FIG. 92. Hg,82v. The five auspicious events in Pārśva's life. KS 149 (Jtr 271). The five auspicious events of Pārśva's life occurred when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Viśākhā.

The painting has the legend *pārśvaṣaṣṭakalyāṇaka*, "Pārśva's five auspicious events." They are: (1) descent from heaven and conception; (2) birth; (3) forsaking world and tearing out of hair; (4) omniscience, here represented by the *samavasaraṇa*, in which he preaches his first sermon; (5) liberation. Cf. figure 1.



FIG. 92



FIG. 90

247
संस्कृत



FIG. 91



FIG. 93

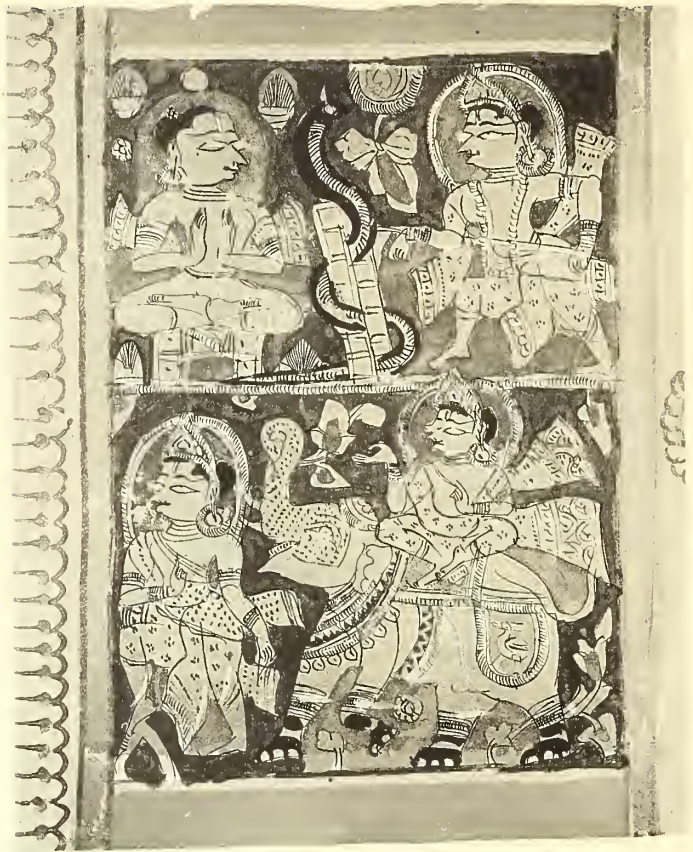


FIG. 94



FIG. 95

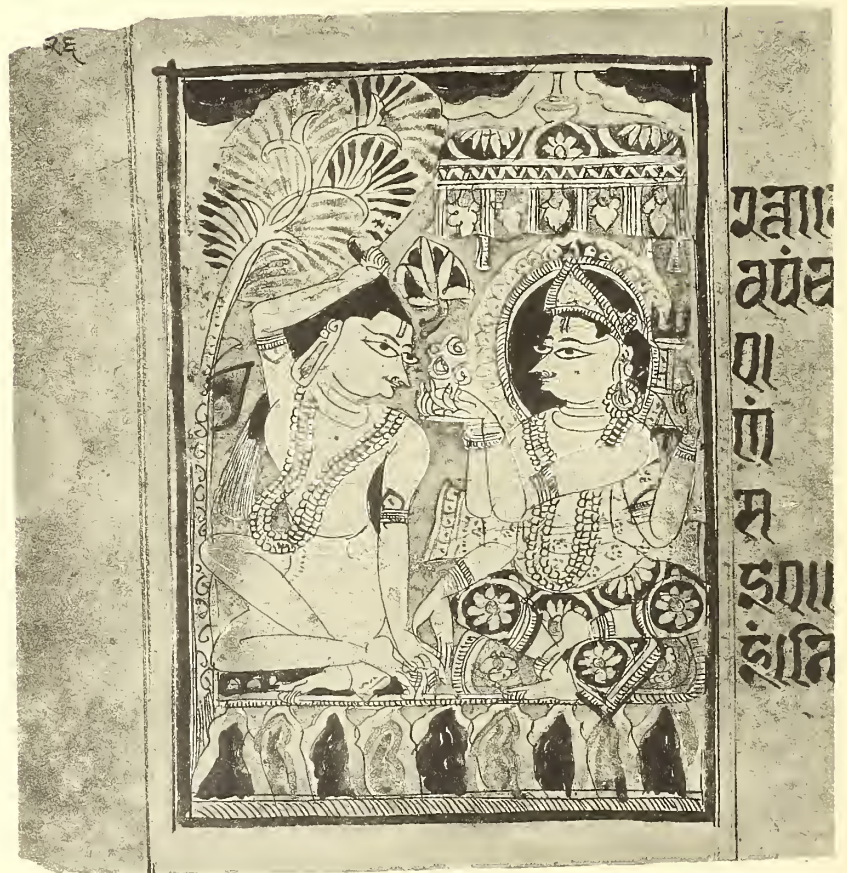


FIG. 96

23.9.20
Leaf 63, verso

PLATE 28

FIG. 93. B17.2278.73 (cf. C 51, 56, pls. XIII.73, XIX.83). Two scenes in one: (a) Kamaṭha performing the five-fire penance; (b) Pārśva rescuing the snakes. Implicit in KS 155 (Jtr 272). For the story see under figure 87.

In the upper register sits Kamaṭha amid the five fires; the four wood fires flame about him; the sun, the fifth fire, is at the left of his head. He is dressed in lower garment and scarf and wears a diadem, a costume which, of course, differs from that of Jain monks, to whom Kamaṭha is a heretic. His long hair is bound in the style characteristic of Hindu ascetics in this school of painting (cf. BrEA 177). In the lower register is Prince Pārśva on horseback, the royal parasol being at the horse's head. In front of the horse stands a servant holding an axe, with which, at Pārśva's command, he has split the wood. At the extreme left is the log itself, from which emerges the serpent.

FIG. 94. Ha,91r (cf. C 51, 56, pls. XIII.73, XIX.83). Two scenes in one: (a) Kamaṭha performing the five-fire penance; (b) Pārśva rescuing the snakes. Implicit in KS 155 (Jtr 272). For the story see under figure 87.

In the upper register Kamaṭha sits at the left surrounded by the four fires, with the sun as a small circle directly above his head. He wears no diadem here as he does in figure 93, and his hair is like that of a Jain monk. At the right is a retainer of Pārśva holding a long axe with which he has just split the log—the axe is still sticking in it—and the serpent Dharāṇa is crawling out. In the lower register is Pārśva mounted upon his elephant coming up to Kamaṭha. Before Pārśva goes a retainer. The painting has a legend in which several characters are illegible, *kamaṭha paṃcāgni . pārśva aśva*. . . . Pārśva is, of course, not on a horse (as he is in fig. 93).

The painting in B22.364.83 (C 56, pl. XIX.83), not reproduced here, follows our painting closely. In the upper register the ascetic wears a diadem and long coiled hair (cf. fig. 93); in the lower register there is a male fly-whisk bearer behind Pārśva. The legend is *vāmādevī*, "Queen Vāmā" (the mother of Pārśva), but it appears to be an error, the artist perhaps having failed to put in the intended scene. The person on the elephant in our painting has the male forehead marking; in the Boston illustration the marking is lacking. Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests that the lower scene may refer to Pārśva's marriage, but there is no evidence to indicate this.

The interpretation of these otherwise uncertain scenes seems to be clarified by the painting reproduced as the frontispiece of Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism* (Calcutta, 1917). In the upper register of that miniature sits Kamaṭha surrounded by the fires. In the lower register Pārśva comes riding up on an elephant while at the extreme left is the log with the serpent. The scene is like that of our figure 93, except that Pārśva rides an elephant instead of a horse. I therefore understand our present scene (fig. 94) to be the same as that reproduced by Nahar and Ghosh, with the difference that the splitting of the log has been transferred from the lower register to the upper. Hc,72v has a similar representation: Kamaṭha appears amid the fires in the upper register; Pārśva appears on an elephant in the lower register, before him are a servant with an axe and the log of wood with the serpent emerging from it.

FIG. 95. He,83v. Pārśva in the initiation palanquin. KS 156 (Jtr 272). For a description of the corresponding event in Mahāvīra's life see under figure 72.

In a palanquin sits Pārśva fully ornamented, wearing a white robe. At each side of the palanquin is a female fly-whisk bearer. Four males, perhaps gods, support the palanquin. Sitting on the roof are two male conch-blowers and two swans.

Similar scene in figure 72.

FIG. 96. Fr,63v. Pārśva plucks out his hair. KS 157 (Jtr 272). Pārśva tore out his hair in five handfuls, which were caught by Śakra. Cf. under figure 73.

The treatment is essentially the same as that in figure 73.

Similar subjects are treated in figures 73, 74, 92, III, 112, 124.

PLATE 29

FIG. 97. Ha,92v (cf. Sh pl. II; C 48, 51, pls. VII.44, XIII.75). Pārśva's austerities. KS 158-159 (Jtr 273). The details are not given in KS, but may be found in Bl 117-118, CP 256-257, the accounts of which are summarized under figure 87. While Pārśva was engaged in meditation, the Asura Meghamālin, a reincarnation of the ascetic Kamaṭha, on account of hatred extending through many existences, endeavored to distract him, first, by attacking him with wild animals, secondly, by attacking him with a fearful thunderstorm that raised a flood of water drenching Pārśva to the nostrils. Dharaṇa, a reincarnation of the serpent Pārśva had saved and now king of the Nāgas, learned of this by his transcendent wisdom, and came to protect Pārśva, covering the saint umbrellawise with his seven heads, wrapping his coils around Pārśva's body, and staging a play to divert Pārśva's attention from the storm. But throughout all Pārśva remained indifferent to both the attack of Meghamālin and the counter-activities of Dharaṇa. Then Meghamālin repented and bowed before Pārśva, giving up his evil ways.

Pārśva stands upright in the body-abandonment posture (*kāyotsargaḥpratinā*). Around him is water, indicated by crisscrossed lines, rising to his neck. The heads of the snake-king Dharaṇa are over Pārśva's head, and the snake's body behind him, meant to be wrapped about him but for some reason—possibly a desire to put no other creature in front of a Tīrthankara—the coils are not completed at the places where they would pass before the body. The tail comes out between Pārśva's feet and trails off to the right-hand side of the picture. Two trees are partly arched over Pārśva.

FIG. 98. Cleve,46r (cf. Sh pl II; C 48, 51, pls. VII.44, XIII.75). Pārśva's austerities. KS 158-159 (Jtr 273). See under figure 97.

The main features of this representation are the same as those in figure 97, but in addition to being of superior aesthetic quality the painting shows a number of minor variations. Beside Pārśva stand two figures, each in human form, the one on his right being male and crowned with seven cobra heads, the one at his left being female and crowned with three cobra heads. These are presumably Dharaṇa, the snake king, and his wife Padmāvati (PSM s. v. *paumāvai*), who are Pārśva's tutelary divinities, that is his Yakṣa and Śāsanadevī (Gl 362).¹⁴ Over each of them is a parasol with swans and a water vessel above it. Below Dharaṇa is an elephant; below his wife a parrot. Sitting cross-legged at Pārśva's feet is a small male figure, with elbows sticking out and hands turned upright before him back to back. The posture would be unintelligible without further commentary, which we may draw from the miniature in B17.2278.75 (not reproduced here). There the same small figure appears clasping the legs of Pārśva as though to support him, and Coomaraswamy (C 51) understands it to be a Yakṣa. The guess is not unreasonable. It might also be the human part of the Nāga King Dharaṇa's body. The representation of a Nāga with a human body and head and a snake's body behind, while a snake's head tops all, is a common iconographic type. I incline, therefore, to think that the small human body is the human part of Dharaṇa's body, while the snake head belonging to him appears above Pārśva.

FIG. 99. Hb,84r (cf. Hū 74-75, fig. 12). Pārśva's *samavasaraṇa*. KS 159 (Jtr 273). On the fourth day of the dark fortnight of the month Caitra, under a Dhātaki tree, after a six-meal fast¹⁵ without drinking water, Pārśva obtained omniscience. Then he preached in his *samavasaraṇa*, which the gods erected for him. For a *samavasaraṇa* see under figure 80.

A *samavasaraṇa* may be either round, as in figure 80, or square, as here. Pārśva is represented with Dharaṇa protecting him, but many representations of Pārśva's *samavasaraṇa* omit Dharaṇa. In all essential respects this scene is like that in figure 80.

Similar subjects are treated in figures 1, 80, 92, 113, 126.

FIG. 100. Fr,66v (cf. Sh pl. II; Hū 74, fig. 12; C 48, pl. VII.44). Pārśva as a Siddha. KS 168 (Jtr 274-275). On the eighth day of the light fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, Pārśva, at the age of 100, after fasting a month without drinking water, on the summit of Mount Sammeta, died.

The painting is essentially like that of Mahāvīra as a Siddha in Īṣatprāgbhāra (fig. 81), but Pārśva is surmounted by the seven heads of Dharaṇa, and on his throne is a serpent cognizance.

Similar subjects are treated in figures 1, 81, 92, 114, 128.

¹⁴ For the full iconography of these figures and of the attendants of the other Tīrthankaras, see Johnson, H. M., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 56, 1927. The iconography in this painting differs from Hemacandra's as given by Miss Johnson.

¹⁵ See footnote under figure 73.



FIG. 97



FIG. 98



FIG. 99



FIG. 100



FIG. 101



FIG. 102

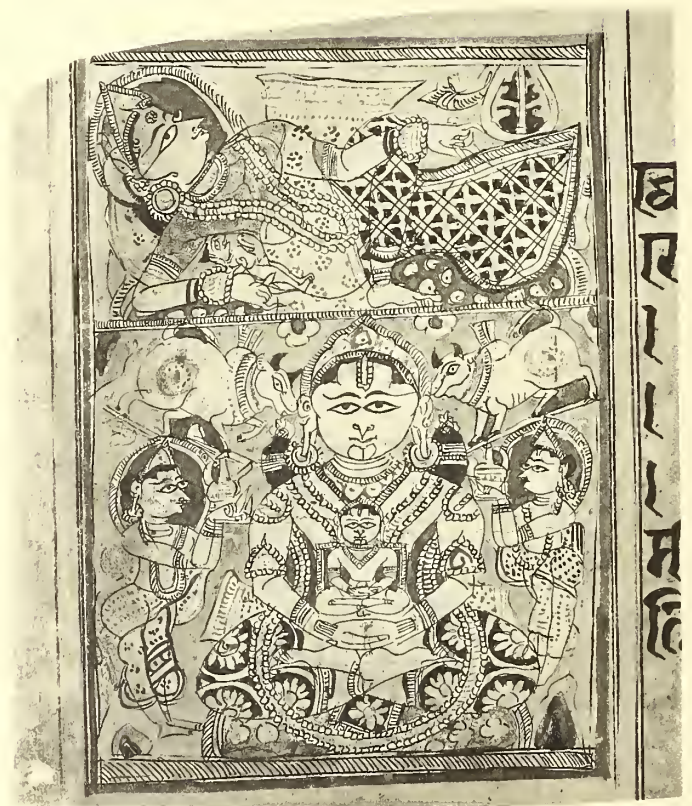


FIG. 103

23.3 on
leaf 57, verso

PLATE 30

FIG. 101. Ha,97r (cf. C 43, 52, pls. III.66, XIII.78; Br figs. 3, 39). Ariṣṭanemi in the Aparājita heaven. KS 171 (Jtr 276). Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthankara, had dwelt in the Aparājita heaven 32 *sāgaroḥamas*¹⁶ (cf. Kirfel 339), before descending to the earth. Ariṣṭanemi is often known as Nemi.

This painting is essentially the same as that reproduced in our figure 2, but Nemi's cognizance is the conch, for which see under figure 104.

Similar subjects are represented in figures 2, 87, 102, 116.

FIG. 102. Ha,97v. Two scenes in one: (a) Adoration of Ariṣṭanemi's conch; (b) Ariṣṭanemi in the Aparājita heaven. Implied in KS 171 (Jtr 276). See under figures 101, 104.

The lower scene is essentially like that of figure 101, but only two attendant male figures appear beside the future Tīrthankara. In the upper scene the conch, which once was Krishna's (see under fig. 104), rests upon a throne under a canopy. At the right is a male adoring it. The painting has a legend *dvārikānemīśvaraśaṅkhaḥpūrtiḥ*, "worship of the conch belonging to the Lord Nemi of Dvārikā". A parallel painting in He,89v (not reproduced here) bears the legend *nemiśaṅkha*, "Nemi's conch".

FIG. 103. Fr,67v. Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi's birth; (b) Ariṣṭanemi's lustration and bath at birth. KS 172 (Jtr 276-277). On the fifth day of the light fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the town of Śaurīpura, Queen Śivā, wife of King Samudravijaya, gave birth to Ariṣṭanemi. He received his name, according to Devendra (CA 411), because at the time of conception his mother saw the rim of a wagon wheel (*nemi*) consisting of *riṣṭa* jewels (the Prakrit *ariṭṭha*, Skt. *ariṣṭa*, "jewel", is the same as Prakrit *riṭṭha*, Skt. *riṣṭa*, "a kind of jewel"; see s. v. in PSM; cf. Jo 368, 472).

The two scenes are treated essentially like the corresponding scenes in the lives of Mahāvīra and Pārśva. See under figures 58, 61.

Similar subjects appear in figures 58, 59, 90, 91, 118, 119; and in figures 61, 90, 119.

¹⁶ Some say 33 *sāgaroḥamas*; Jtr makes the number 36 (so also in his text).

PLATE 31

FIG. 104. Hc,79r (cf. C 52, pl. XIV.79). Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi blows Krishna's conch; (b) Krishna tries to bend Ariṣṭanemi's arm. Implied in KS 172 (Jtr 277), but explicit in Devendra (CA 411-413). Nemi (Ariṣṭanemi) was a cousin of the Hindu hero and deity Krishna (an incarnation of Vishnu). As a youth Nemi had enormous strength. Once he went into Krishna's arsenal, where he picked up Krishna's bow. The warder of the arsenal warned him that no one, whether man, god, or demon, could bend the bow but Krishna. But Nemi bent it with the greatest ease so that the bowstring broke, and the noise shook the earth and the mountains. Then Nemi took up Krishna's conch and blew it, with such effect that the worlds of the gods, men, and demons were shaken. Krishna was alarmed, and fearing that Nemi would rob him of his kingdom asked his brother Baladeva what device he could use to prevent him. Baladeva tried to allay Krishna's fears, for he recognized that Nemi would not become an earthly king but was destined to be the twenty-second Tirthankara. Nevertheless Krishna remained fearful. One day he challenged Nemi to a test of strength in a fist fight. Nemi suggested instead an argument with words, but Krishna insisted upon a test of physical strength. Nemi then extended his arm, saying to Krishna that if he could bend down the arm he would be considered the victor. Krishna tried but failed.

In the upper register of our painting is shown, at the left, the conch on its throne, and, at the right, Nemi blowing it. In the lower register Nemi stands at the left with his left arm outstretched. Below the arm is Krishna, four-armed, trying with two of his arms to bend down Nemi's arm. In front of Krishna is his mace (a regular attribute of him as Vishnu). Overhead is the discus (*cakra*) of Vishnu, and between it and the mace an object that looks somewhat like a conch, also an attribute of Vishnu (hence of Krishna). At the bottom is a lotus, also an attribute of Vishnu.

FIG. 105. He,90r. Krishna tries to bend Ariṣṭanemi's arm. Implied in KS 172 (Jtr 277). See under figure 104.

This representation shows trees and foliage, thus conforming to Devendra's statement (CA 412) that the incident took place in a garden. Nemi extends his left arm. Krishna is four-armed and carries his mace and discus.

FIG. 106. Ha,98r. Krishna and his wives urge Ariṣṭanemi to marry. Implied in KS 172 (Jtr 277), but explicit in Devendra (CA 413). Krishna was now freed of worry that Nemi would take his kingdom. One day Nemi's father, thinking it time for his son to marry, asked Krishna to get Nemi's consent. Krishna asked his wives to influence Nemi. They began to joke Nemi on having arrived at a marriageable age, yet remaining unwed. He answered that there was no profit in associating with women and getting married; he preferred to strive for perfection and release from the cycle of rebirth. Then Krishna himself went to Nemi. He pointed out that all the previous Tirthankaras had married and raised families before entering upon the religious life. Therefore, urged he, Nemi also should marry and please his father. Nemi then consented. The bride selected was Rājamatī, daughter of King Ugrasena and wife of Nemi in other existences. A variant of the legend, told in the *Indian Antiquary* II.138 and utilized by Dr. Coomaraswamy (C 15) and by Glasenapp (Gl 291), has Krishna urge Nemi to marry in the hope that sexual indulgence would impair his strength.

Our painting shows a bathing ghat with two men standing on steps that lead down into the water. The one at the left is Nemi, for he carries the same forehead marking that Nemi has in another painting from the same MS. (Ha,98v, not reproduced here). His hands are outstretched in expostulation. Krishna faces him with right hand upraised holding an object that looks like a horn. Behind each man, on the top step, stands a female holding a vessel presumably containing milk. These typify Krishna's wives. Our picture combines two moments of the narrative summarized above, the urging by Krishna's wives and the urging by Krishna himself.

हरिदीजेल



FIG. 104



FIG. 105



FIG. 106

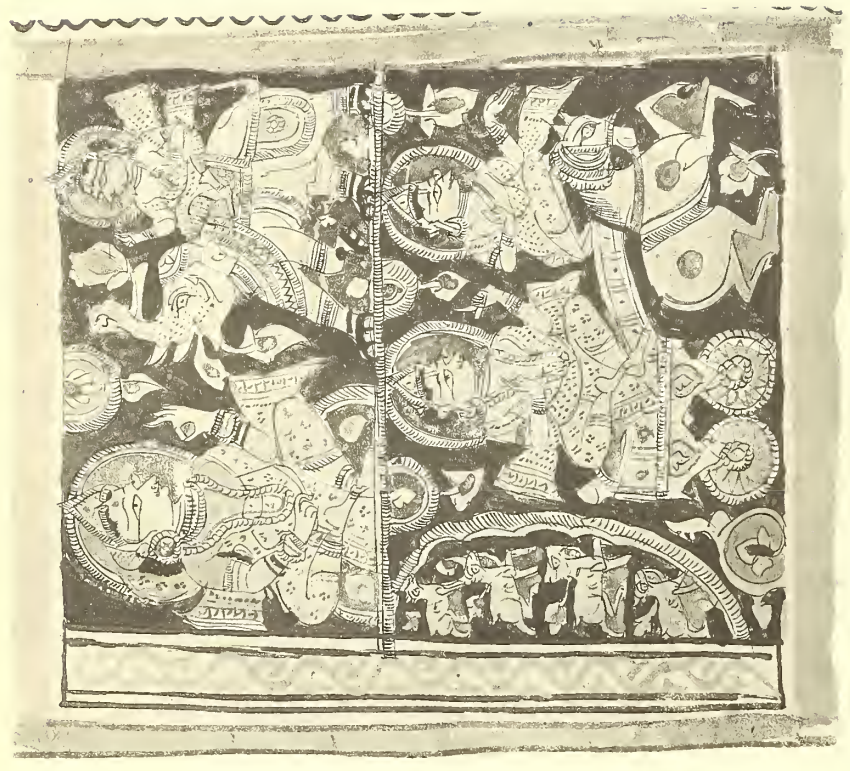


Fig. 109

शुभं कुरुते



23.0.00
Langford, 1917

Fig. 108

मीनामणं तांदात्रणं अरिहा
 रिद्वतमीदारकजावतिनिवास
 याङ्कुमारअगारमस्रवसिन्न
 सुणारबिलाअतिपदि डीया
 ष्णिहिंयादवदिं तोषवसद्वा
 णियब्जववाणदाइयाणंपरि
 इत्ता वत्रजासवासार्णपदूम

ए०



न अ स ण क ता ना

नः स मोषली कुसुण
 मोक इ अ

Fig. 107

PLATE 32

FIG. 107. He,90v. Krishna urges Ariṣṭanemi to marry. Implied in KS 172 (Jtr 277). See under figure 106.

Krishna and Nemi again appear at the bathing ghat (notice the different treatment of the water). Krishna, four-armed, is at the left, Nemi at the right. Overhead is a canopy.

FIG. 108. Fr,68r (cf. C 52, pl. XIV.80). Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion; (b) Ariṣṭanemi decides to leave the world. Implied in KS 173 (Jtr 277), but explicit in Devendra (CA 414). The bride Rājamatī was bathed, adorned, and seated in her pavilion waiting for the groom. He, too, fully adorned, mounted an elephant, and amid the plaudits of the people advanced toward Rājamatī's pavilion. Presently he heard distressful cries. On asking the charioteer (although he was on an elephant!) what these were, he learned that they were the cries of the deer and other animals that were to be slaughtered for the wedding feast. The thought of the impending death of these creatures produced in Nemi disgust with the world, and he forthwith decided to enter the religious life. He gave his jewels to the charioteer, had the elephant turned around, and abandoned the bride—to her great woe—while he prepared to become a houseless wanderer in search of salvation.

In the various paintings illustrating this important point in Nemi's life, there is apparently a curious confusion in regard to his vehicle, which seems to leave traces even in Devendra's narrative. It is stated that Nemi went to his wedding mounted upon an elephant, yet he addressed his remarks to a charioteer, as is indicated by the Prakrit word *sārahi* (Skt. *sārathi*) which normally means the driver of a chariot. Hence in the paintings it sometimes happens that Nemi rides in one part of the scene on an elephant and in another in a chariot, or in both parts in a chariot.

Our painting shows at the top Rājamatī seated in a lightly indicated pavilion. Approaching her is a two-wheeled and one-horse chariot carrying Prince Nemi, driven by a charioteer who vigorously flourishes his whip. In the lower register, on the left, in a pen are various animals which are to be slaughtered for the feast. At the right is Nemi's chariot, which now has turned back.

FIG. 109. Ha,99r (cf. C 80, pl. XIV.80). Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion; (b) Ariṣṭanemi decides to leave the world. Implied in 173 (Jtr 277). See under figure 108.

The representation is essentially like that of figure 108, except that we have here a case where Nemi rides on the elephant in one part of the picture and on a chariot in another (see under fig. 108), and Rājamatī's pavilion is not shown. The elephant's face and trunk are painted like those of elephants in festive and state use today. In the lower register Nemi's chariot has four wheels instead of the two in figure 108.

PLATE 33

FIG. 110. Hb,88v (cf. C 52, pl. XIV.80). Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi riding to the bridal pavilion; (b) Ariṣṭanémi decides to leave the world. Implied in KS 173 (Jtr 277). See under figure 108.

This full page illustration gives an idea of the importance this scene holds for the Jains; it is one of the best-loved episodes in all Jain hagiography. At the extreme left, in a pavilion minutely decorated with floral motifs and having a peacock on the overhanging cornice, is Rājamatī, whose attitude portrays the agitation and delight which Devendra says she experienced at her approaching marriage to so rare a prince as Nemi. In front of her under the cornice is a maid servant holding out a water vessel. Coming towards the pavilion is the elephant, intricately adorned and painted, bearing richly embroidered trappings and a howdah. Three persons sit inside the howdah; the first, whose greater size alone would show his superior importance, is Nemi holding out an offering. Behind him is an attendant, and at the rear still another, perhaps a fly-whisk bearer (cf. fig. 123), although the fly-whisk is not visible. Behind the elephant is a four-wheeled chariot, in which rides Krishna, four-armed, holding discus and mace, while before him is the charioteer brandishing a whip. At the bottom, on the left, is the pen containing birds and beasts for the banquet. In the center is Nemi, now in a chariot, deserting the bride, as his charioteer urges on the horse; and before him are two attendants, one on foot, the other on horseback.

FIG. 111. Fr,68v (cf. C 58, pl. XXXVI.51). Two scenes in one: (a) Ariṣṭanemi gives away his possessions; (b) Ariṣṭanemi plucks out his hair. KS 172-173 (Jtr 277). Like the other Tīrthankaras Nemi gave alms for a year before leaving the world. He was then honored by Śakra, made to sit in a palanquin, carried through the town of Dvāravatī to a park, where he dismounted under an Aśoka tree. After a six-meal fast¹⁷ he tore out his hair, which Śakra caught. Cf. under figures 70, 73.

The treatment of these episodes in Nemi's career hardly varies from the treatment of corresponding scenes in the lives of Mahāvīra and the other Tīrthankaras.

Similar subjects illustrated in figures 70, 91, 124, and in figures 73, 74, 96, 112, 124.

FIG. 112. Ha,100r. Ariṣṭanemi plucks out his hair. KS 173 (Jtr 277). See under figure 111, and cf. under figure 73.

The treatment is essentially that of figure 73.

¹⁷ See footnote under figure 73.



FIG. 112



FIG. 110



FIG. 111

*Redd
T. 200, 14000*



FIG. 113



FIG. 114



FIG. 115

23.3
Leaf 73, verso

PLATE 34

FIG. 113. Ha,101r. Ariṣṭanemi's *samavasaraṇa*. KS 174 (Jtr 277). After 54 days of austerity, on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Āśvina, under a Veṭasa tree, on the summit of Mount Girnar in Kathiawar, Ariṣṭanemi, after an eight-meal fast¹⁸ without drinking water, obtained the Kevala (supreme) knowledge, and preached in his *samavasaraṇa*, which the gods erected. Cf. under figure 80.

The treatment is essentially like that of figure 80.

Similar subjects are portrayed in figures 80, 99, 126.

FIG. 114. Ha,104r. Ariṣṭanemi as a Siddha. KS 182 (Jtr 278-279). After a life of a thousand years, on the eighth day of the light fortnight of the month Āśāḍha, having fasted a month without drinking water, on the summit of Mount Girnar, the Arhat Ariṣṭanemi died. His soul then went to its abode in Īṣatprāgbhāra. Cf. under figure 81.

The treatment is essentially that of the corresponding episode in Mahāvīra's life; see figure 81.

Similar subjects are depicted in figures 81, 100, 128.

FIG. 115. Fr,73r (cf. C 48, 52, 56, pls. VIII.48, XIV.83, 84, XX.95). Ten Tīrthankaras. KS 184-203 (Jtr 280). Between the stories of Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthankara, and of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthankara, the KS gives the name of the 20 other Tīrthankaras, going backward from Nemi to Ṛṣabha, and tells us the length of time elapsing between the appearance of the Tīrthankaras, but omits their stories.

The various MSS. show the Tīrthankaras in groups of 4, 10, or 20. A single illustration of one type of representation seems sufficient for our purposes.

At the top of this painting, over each of the four Tīrthankaras on the upper row, is the spire of his shrine. Only the figure at the left-hand side of the row has the cognizance indicated, and this I cannot identify. Each Tīrthankara is apparently in *samavasaraṇa*.

There follows here a list of the 24 Tīrthankaras, with indication of the color in which the body of each is ideally depicted (not observed in our paintings), according to both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, and the cognizance of each, again according to the two divisions of the Jains. For the Śvetāmbaras I have taken the statements in Gl 491; for the Digambaras I have also taken the statements in the same place, but supplemented them with information drawn from J. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, 1916, table opposite p. 6, and from a painting belonging to the library of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, being MS. 1544 60/A3.

Tīrthankara	Color		Cognizance	
	Śvet	Dig	Śvet	Dig
1. Ṛṣabha	gold	yellow	bull	bull
2. Ājita	gold	yellow	elephant	elephant
3. Sambhava	gold	yellow	horse	horse
4. Abhinandana	gold	yellow	monkey	monkey
5. Sumati	gold	yellow	curlew	curlew
6. Padmaprabha	red	red	red lotus	red lotus
7. Supārśva	gold	green (or blue)	<i>svastika</i> ¹⁹	<i>svastika</i>
8. Candraprabha	white	white (or black)	crescent moon	crescent moon
9. Puṣpadanta	white	white	<i>makara</i> (sea monster)	<i>makara</i> (or crab)
10. Śītala	gold	yellow	<i>śrīvatsa</i> ¹⁹	<i>śrīvatsa</i> (or pipal tree)
11. Śreyāmsa	gold	yellow	rhinoceros	rhinoceros (or Garuḍa)
12. Vāsupūjya	red	red	buffalo	buffalo
13. Vimala	gold	yellow	boar	boar
14. Ananta	gold	yellow	falcon	ram (or bear)
15. Dharma	gold	yellow	thunderbolt (or mace)	thunderbolt
16. Śānti	gold	yellow	antelope	antelope
17. Kunthu	gold	yellow	goat	goat
18. Ara	gold	yellow	<i>nandyāvarta</i> ¹⁹	fish
19. Mallī	blue (or green)	yellow	water-jar	water-jar
20. Munisuvrata	black	black (or blue)	tortoise	tortoise
21. Nami	gold	yellow	blue lotus	blue (or red) lotus (or aśoka tree)
22. Ariṣṭanemi	black	black (or blue)	conch	conch
23. Pārśva	green (or blue)	green (or blue)	serpent	serpent
24. Mahāvīra	gold	yellow	lion	lion

¹⁸ See footnote under figure 73. In an eight-meal fast there are three, instead of two, days with no meals.

¹⁹ For these symbols see under figure 4.

PLATE 35

FIG. 116. Ha,110r (cf. C 43, 52, 56, pls. III.72, XIV.88, XX.99). Ṛṣabha in the Sarvārthasiddha (or, Sarvārthasiddhi) heaven. KS 206 (Jtr 281). After living 33 *sāgaropamas* (cf. Kirfel 339) in the Sarvārthasiddha heaven, Ṛṣabha (or Ādinātha, or Ādiśvara), destined to be the first Tīrthankara, descended to take the form of an embryo in the womb of Marudevī, wife of the patriarch Nābhi—in those days the institution of kingship had not arisen—in Ikṣvākubhūmi, in the city of Ayodhyā. This took place in the third of the six periods of the present world cycle, as recognized by the Jains, the period in which evil first made its appearance in the world. Ṛṣabha became the first king of men, for with the coming of evil a king became necessary, and he taught men the arts, sciences, and crafts. Then, becoming the first Tīrthankara, he instituted the true religion (see Gl 266 ff., and Jo's translation of Hemacandra's R).

The representation is like that of Mahāvīra in the Puṣpottara heaven, in our figure 2.

Similar subjects are portrayed in figures 2, 87, 101, 102.

FIG. 117. Ha,110v. The patriarch Nābhi and his wife Marudevī, parents of Ṛṣabha. KS 206-207 (Jtr 281-282). Marudevī is speaking to Nābhi, and may be considered to be telling her fourteen auspicious dreams to her husband, just as Trīśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra, told her dreams to Siddhārtha—see our figure 35 (from the same MS. as the present painting), which varies from this one in only the most minute details. Nābhi himself expounded Marudevī's dreams, for in those days, as the KS text makes clear, there were no dream interpreters. When the fourteen dreams appeared to Marudevī, the first of them, contrary to the usual order (for which see under figs. 6, 18-33), was the bull. Hence the child was named Ṛṣabha (bull).

The representation corresponds with that of Mahāvīra's parents in figure 35. The legend of this painting is *śrīādīja . sidhārthamarudevā*.

FIG. 118. M 18.104.55v (cf. C 56, pl. XX.100). Ṛṣabha's birth. KS 208 (Jtr 282). On the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Caitra, Marudevī gave birth to Ṛṣabha.

The treatment corresponds closely to that of Mahāvīra's birth in figure 58.

Similar subjects are represented in figures 58, 59, 90, 91, 103, 119.



Fig. 117

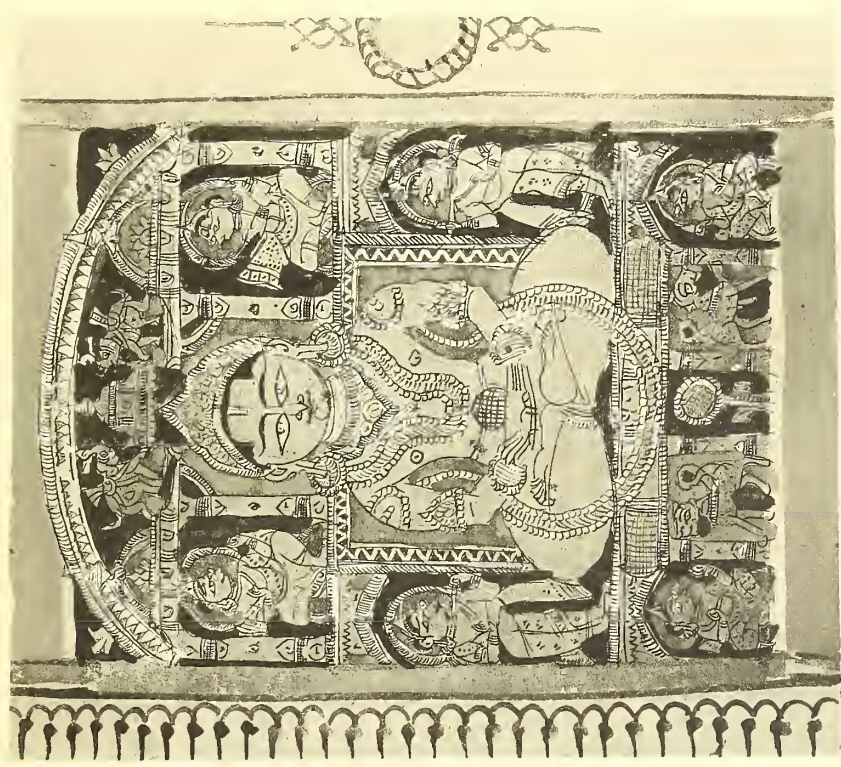


Fig. 116



Fig. 118

णां। नमस्तत्र ह्येकस्मिन्निष्ठायां। प्रहसन्मामस
 गढस्यैकं चित्रवक्रालतस्मान्। विवृणुष्वक्रलस्मश्च हसीषा
 रकाणामवस्त्रं। मायाणं ब्रह्मण्डिप्रज्ञाणं। अहहमराज्ञं दद्याण
 जावत्त्रासाहो द्विनरकात्तानां। जगत्स
 आरागात्तानां प्रयाया। तैश्च ब्रह्मजाव
 तीजिया। तत्रुत्तारवांसं वा भिन्नासंभत
 गामाहणं। मापुष्माणवहणं। नञ्चुं कमाशयं। विष्णुप्रदियङ्ग
 तदधंभं तन्निर्णयं। नमस्तानां। अरुन्दाकासलिया। कासावा
 मात्तानां। तस्मान्पंचनामापद्या। एवमादिद्वेषं लिप्तमस्युवा।

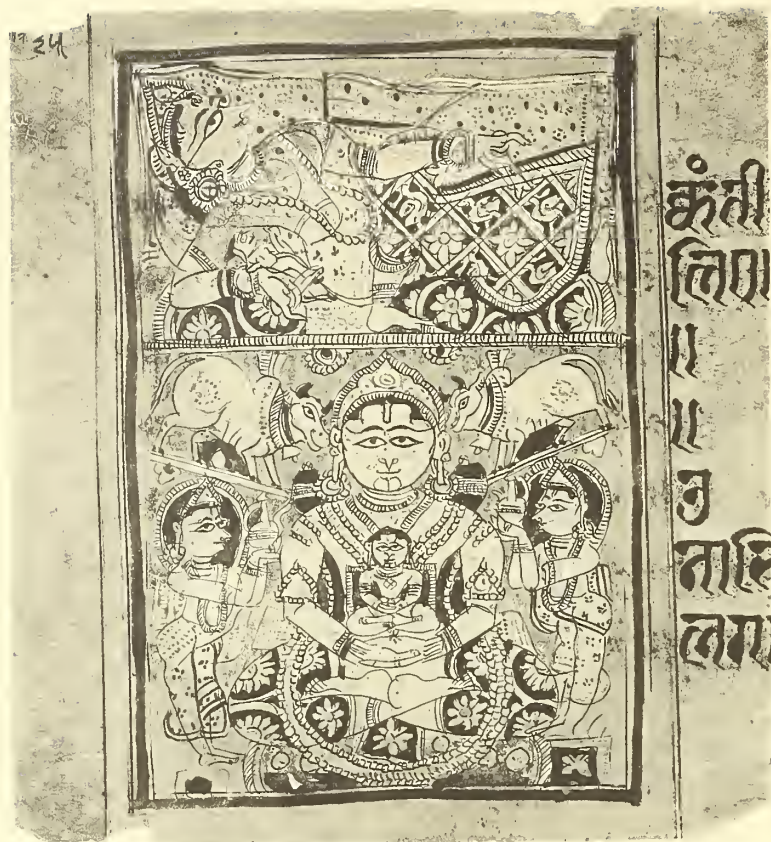


FIG. 119

33.3 ii
Leaf 75, verso

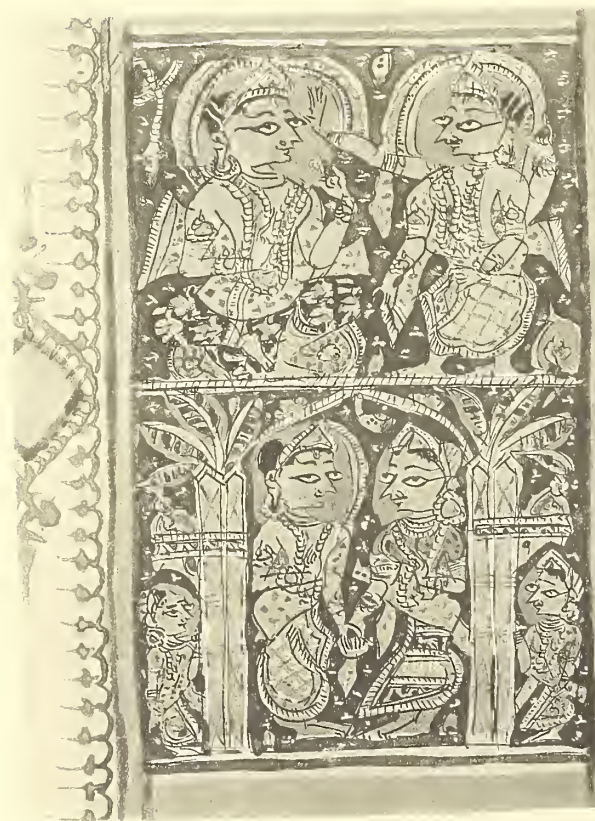


FIG. 120

कम
वम
वपु
सम
णा
कल
कम

रवास
स्साइ
ल्ल
उसउ
बाव
गण
शक्ति

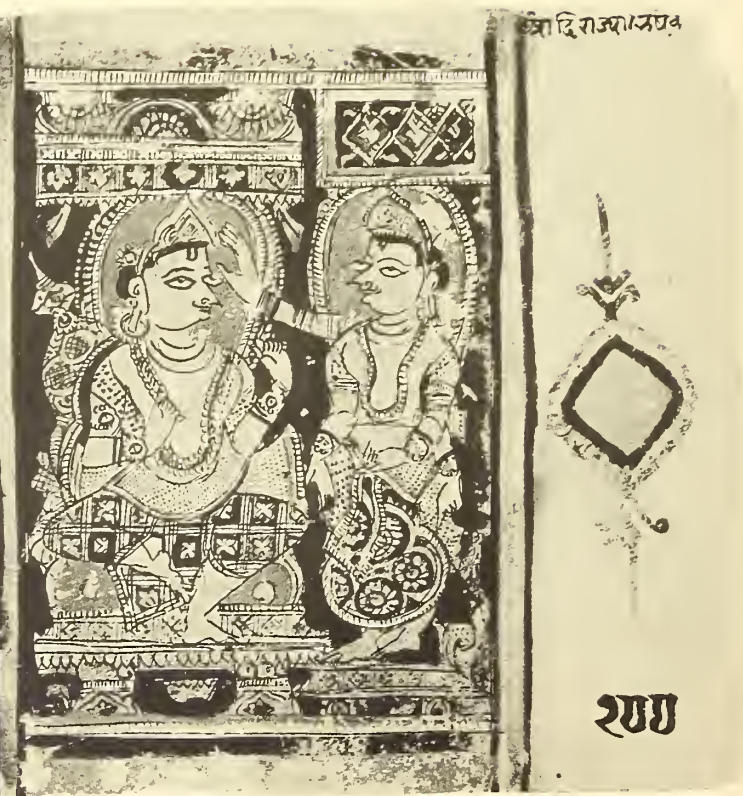


FIG. 121

PLATE 36

FIG. 119. Fr,75v. Two scenes in one: (a) Ṛṣabha's birth; (b) Ṛṣabha's lustration and bath at birth. KS 209 (Jtr 282). At Ṛṣabha's birth the gods honored him as the text describes them honoring the other Tirthankaras. See under figure 61.

The representation of (b) corresponds to that of Mahāvīra's lustration and bath at birth in figure 61.

For figures treating subjects similar to (a) see under figure 118; subjects similar to (b) are treated in figures 61, 90, 103.

FIG. 120. Hg,100v. Ṛṣabha's marriage. Implicit in KS 211 (Jtr 282-283); explicit in Ṛ 2.735-881 (Jo 138-148). At this time there was still no institution of marriage. People were born as twins, a male and a female, destined to live together and have children. But one day, in those steadily deteriorating times, a pair of twins were playing under a palm tree, when a fruit fell and hit the boy on the head, killing him. This was the first accidental death. The girl was left alone and troubled. The other twins did not know what to do with her and took her to the patriarch Nābhi. He said, "Let her be the lawful wife of Lord Ṛṣabha." Then Śakra, knowing by his clairvoyant knowledge that the time had come for Ṛṣabha's marriage, approached and besought him to be married. Ṛṣabha knew the time had come, and he consented. Then the gods made a wonderful marriage pavilion, and prepared all the marriage appurtenances. Then Sumangalā, Ṛṣabha's twin, and Sunandā, the twin whose mate had died accidentally, were bathed and adorned by the Apasarases; Ṛṣabha was prepared by Śakra; wedding songs were sung; and the ceremony performed, of which the most important feature was the tying of brides' and bridegroom's hands with a string. The brides' attendants sang songs ridiculing the best man. Then the garments of the brides and the groom were tied together. There followed songs of celebration. Numerous other minor details are mentioned by Hemacandra. Thus was instituted marriage, and the ceremonies then observed were the type for the future.

The painting shows at the top Ṛṣabha being urged by Śakra to undertake marriage. In the lower half of the picture is the pavilion which the gods erected, and inside it stand Ṛṣabha and one of his brides (probably meant to represent both), with their hands tied together. At the two sides stand bridesmaids.

In the manuscript the painting is wrongly labeled *kalā*, "polite accomplishments", a title belonging to the next painting in the MS. (our fig. 122), which has no label.

FIG. 121. Hb,100v. Ṛṣabha anointed the first king. KS 211 (Jtr 282). Ṛṣabha was the first king, and with him the institution of kingship was established. Before his time there had been no necessity for a king, but in the steadily declining state of the world men had come to need a ruler. The KS statement is very bald, but a full account is given by Hemacandra (Ṛ 2.882-911, Jo 148-149). The people chose Ṛṣabha for their king, whereupon Śakra's throne shook (cliché motif when anything wonderful occurs). The god came to the spot, made a golden daīs, set a throne upon it, brought water from the sacred places, and clothed and ornamented Ṛṣabha. Then the twins—the people living at that period—brought water, but seeing the Lord so well clothed and ornamented, they felt that it would be improper to throw water upon his head, and so they threw it upon his feet.

Our painting shows Ṛṣabha seated on a spired throne; before him stands Śakra, four-armed. The attributes of kingship and the vessels for the anointing are lacking, but the legend of the painting (*ādirājyābhīṣeka* "Ādi's royal consecration") indicates the subject. This painting is hardly an artistic success; the treatment of Śakra's two left arms is especially unsatisfactory.

PLATE 37

FIG. 122. Hg,101r. R̥ṣabha teaches the arts. KS 211 (Jtr 282). R̥ṣabha reigned for 6,300,000 *pūrvas* (8,400,000 × 8,400,000) of years as king, and during his reign he taught his people the 72 polite accomplishments (*kalā*), of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important, and understanding birds' cries the last, the 64 accomplishments (*guṇa*) of women, the 100 crafts (*śilpa*), and the 3 occupations (*karman*) of men. In R̥ 2.924-984 (Jo 150-156) more details are given, including especially the teaching of pottery, carpentering (with painting to decorate the walls), and weaving.

In the painting we see above R̥ṣabha inventing pottery (see under our fig. 123); below, on the left, is the carpentering (or possibly painting of the walls), and on the right is R̥ṣabha doing the first weaving.

FIG. 123. Ha,112v (cf. C 53, pl. XIV.89). R̥ṣabha invents pottery. Implied in KS 211 (Jtr 282); explicit in Hemacandra (R̥ 2.924-951, Jo 150-152). The early citizens suffered from indigestion because they ate their food raw, and as the world deteriorated this could no longer be done with impunity. After offering several suggestions that proved unavailing, R̥ṣabha invented a pot (*kumbha*) for them to cook in, moulding the first piece over the boss (*kumbha*) that is located on each side of an elephant's forehead (for the word *kumbha*, see in the Sanskrit dictionaries, or consult Edgerton, F., *The Elephant-Lore of the Hindus*, p. 117, New Haven, 1931).

In the painting R̥ṣabha sits upon his elephant, which is fully painted and caparisoned, and has its trunk upraised as though trumpeting. In his right hand he holds the first vessel, which he has just moulded. Immediately below the vessel is the boss of the elephant's forehead on which it was shaped. The boss is conspicuously painted. Behind R̥ṣabha is a fly-whisk bearer. The illustration at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (B 17.2278,89, C pl. XIV. 89, not reproduced here) has a legend *hastimūrtikākumbha* (elephant-image-pot); our painting has a legend *ādigaṇḍrakāḍahalūṇ* (Ādi-elephant-pot).

FIG. 124. Fr,77r. Two scenes in one: (a) R̥ṣabha gives away his possessions; (b) R̥ṣabha plucks out his hair. KS 211 (Jtr 282-283). After a rule of 6,300,000 *pūrvas* (8,400,000 × 8,400,000) of years, R̥ṣabha consecrated his hundred sons as kings, then distributed alms, and on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Caitra, left the world in a palanquin named Sudarśanā, and in a park, under an aśoka tree, tore out his hair and entered the state of houselessness.

The treatment corresponds to the treatment of similar events in the life of Mahāvira in figures 70 and 73.

Similar subjects to (a) are presented in figures 70, 71, 91, 111; similar subjects to (b) are presented in figures 73, 74, 96, 111, 112.

FIG. 125. Ha,114r. R̥ṣabha receives the first alms. Implicit in KS 212 (Jtr 283); explicit in R̥ 3.277-302 (Jo 179-181). After initiation R̥ṣabha fasted for a thousand years, not from intention, but because people knew nothing about the correct way of giving alms. Many of those who had taken the monk's vows with him were unable to endure the fasting and died, and R̥ṣabha therefore decided to accept alms. His great-grandson, King Śreyāṇsa, recalled from a previous existence what constituted proper alms, and offered R̥ṣabha some jars of sugar-cane juice which someone had just brought. R̥ṣabha held out his hands to serve as a receptacle, and Śreyāṇsa emptied the jars into them. Although the juice was much, the Blessed One's hands miraculously held it all. Then the juice in the Master's hands solidified into a lofty pillar, and on this R̥ṣabha broke his fast.

In the painting we see under a canopy R̥ṣabha standing in monk's dress and facing him Śreyāṇsa in royal raiment. R̥ṣabha has his broom under his right armpit, and in his right hand his mouth cloth. Śreyāṇsa presents him with sugar-cane juice in a jar with a narrow neck and a flaring mouth. Between the two is another jar falling to the ground, shaped like a monk's begging bowl, even including the handle, and on the ground is another. R̥ṣabha's hands are hardly in a position to take the juice.

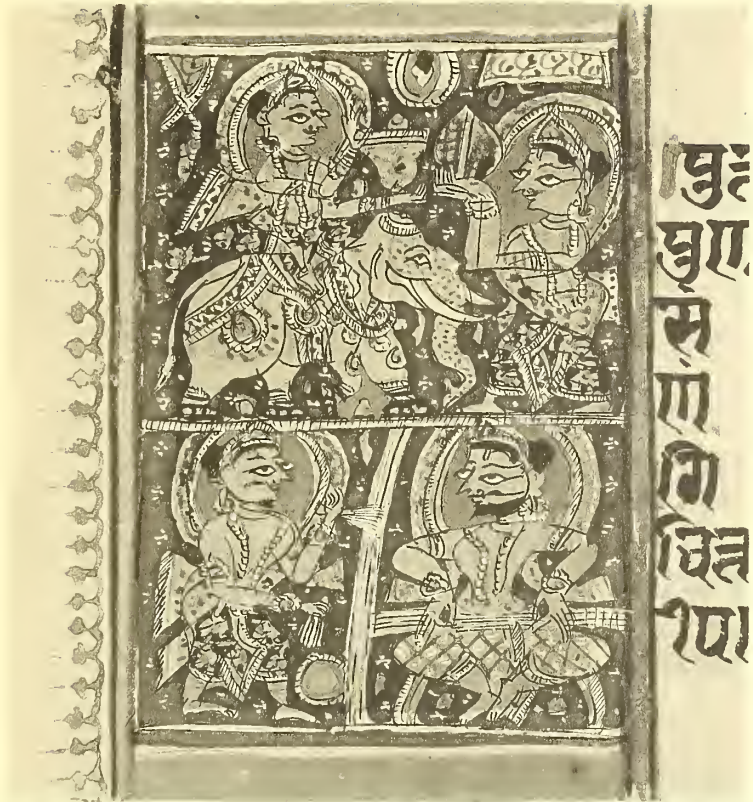


FIG. 122

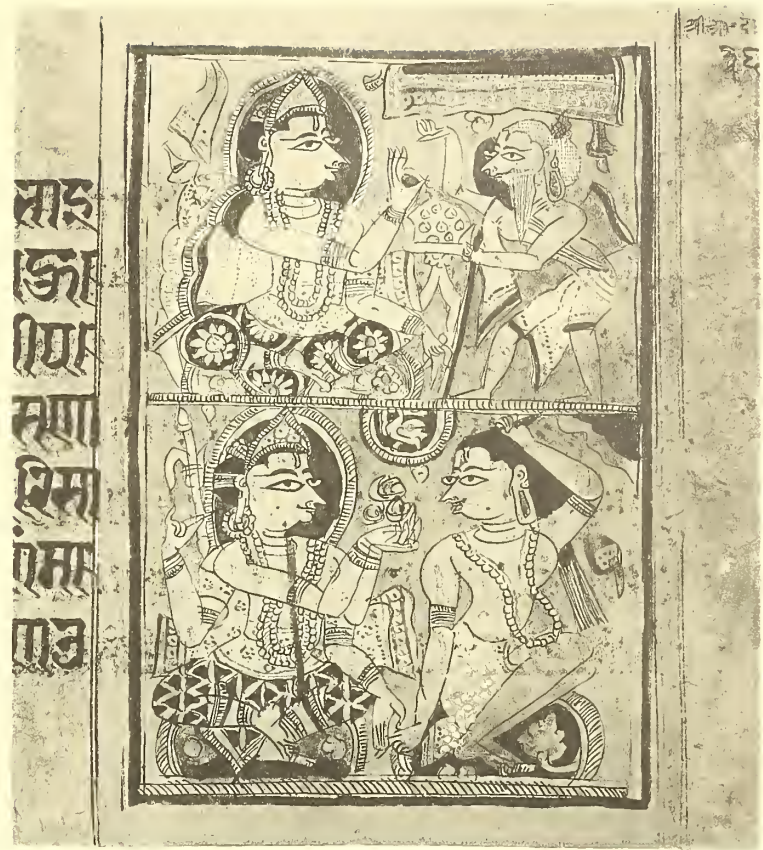


FIG. 124



FIG. 123

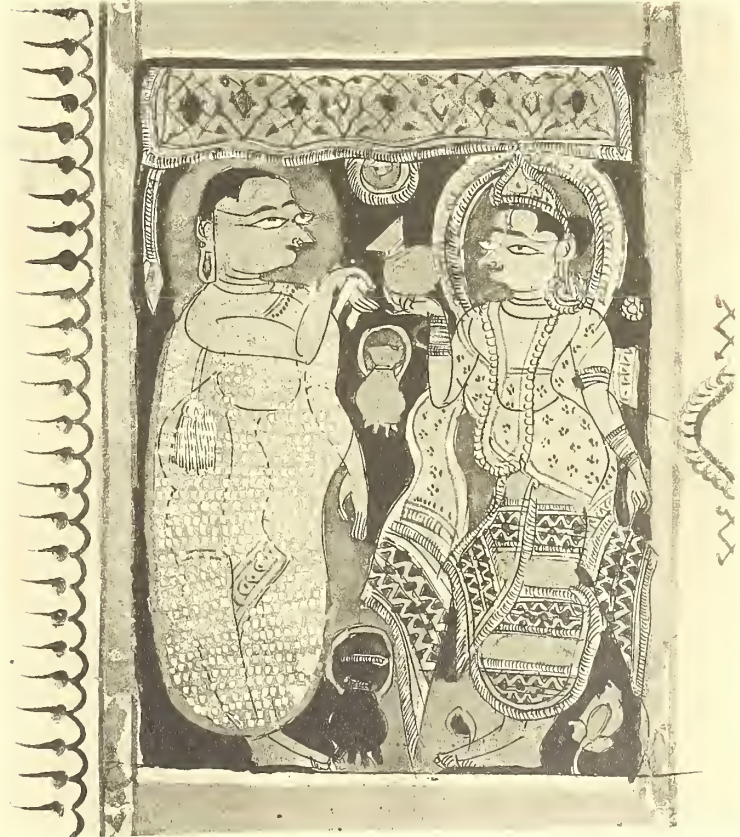


FIG. 125



FIG. 126

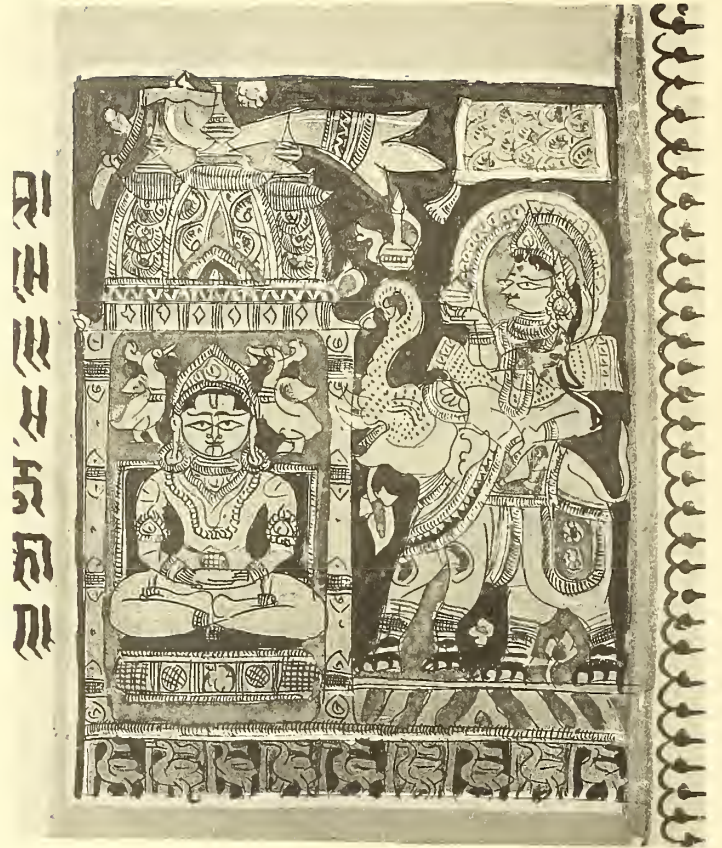


FIG. 127



FIG. 128

22.3 h. h.
 Long 19, 100



FIG. 129

PLATE 38

FIG. 126. Ha,115v. Ṛṣabha's *samavasaraṇa*. KS 212 (Jtr 283). After a thousand years of austerities, on the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month Phālguna, outside the town Purimatāla, under a *nyagrodha* (banyan) tree, following an eight-meal fast without drinking water, Ṛṣabha reached the highest knowledge. Then the gods erected his *samavasaraṇa*, for which see under figure 80.

The treatment is like that of Mahāvīra's *samavasaraṇa* in figure 80.

Similar subjects are portrayed in figures 80, 99, 113.

FIG. 127. Ha,116r. Marudevī's omniscience. Implied in KS 213 (Jtr 284); explicit in R 3.488-534 (Jo 194-198). Ṛṣabha's mother, Marudevī (or Marudevā), grieved by the separation from her son and the contemplation of his sufferings as an ascetic, wept herself blind. When Ṛṣabha had come into his *samavasaraṇa*, his son Bharata went to inform Marudevī, and took her on an elephant to see Ṛṣabha. At the sight her blindness vanished, washed away with tears of joy, and with her physical blindness, so too vanished her spiritual. She attained to omniscience, and immediately died, thus achieving salvation, the first person in this declining world-age to do so. Her funeral rites were the first in the world and became a model for the future.

In the painting Ṛṣabha is seated at the left in a spired shrine, which represents the square shrine from which he preached in his *samavasaraṇa*. At the right is Marudevī on an elephant come to worship him, holding an offering in her two hands. Above the upraised trunk of the elephant is a water pitcher. The painting has a marginal legend *marudevā svāminī gajendropari vāndī*, "The Lady Marudevā worships on an elephant".

FIG. 128. Fr,79v. Ṛṣabha as a Siddha. KS 227 (Jtr 285). After a life of 8,400,000 *pūrvvas* (8,400,000 × 8,400,000) of years, on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha, after a fourteen-meal fast without water, on the summit of Mount Aṣṭāpada, Ṛṣabha died. See under figure 81.

The representation is like that of Mahāvīra as a Siddha, figure 81.

Similar subjects are shown in figures 81, 100, 114.

FIG. 129. Hg,102v. Two scenes in one: (a) Ṛṣabha in meditation; (b) Conquests of the Cakravartin Bharata. Implicit in KS 212-227 (Jtr 283-285); explicit in R 3.93-123, 234-385, 644-692; 4.1-567, 728-797 (Jo 168-170, 176-187, 208-212, 213-252, 263-266).

In (a) Ṛṣabha stands in meditation, flanked by two nuns. These are probably his daughters Brāhmī (daughter of his wife Sumangalā, wife of his son Bāhubali, and first to learn the alphabets) and Sundarī (daughter of his wife Sunandā, wife of his son Bharata, and first to learn arithmetic). When Ṛṣabha preached his first sermon, Brāhmī became the first nun. Sundarī also wanted to become a nun, but was restrained by Bharata, and became the first laywoman; later (R 4.728-797; Jo 263-266) she became a nun. In KS 215 it is stated that when Ṛṣabha died, the community of nuns was headed by Brāhmī and Sundarī.

In (b) we are shown Ṛṣabha's son Bharata, the first Cakravartin (universal ruler) on his tour of conquest (R 4.1-567; Jo 213-252). The usual procedure was for him to follow the wheel (jewel) of empire (*cakra*) until it stopped. Then he would shoot an arrow to the hall of the nearby king, usually at some great distance, such as 12 yojanas. When it alighted the king would rise in rage and seize a weapon to go attack Bharata; but some attendant would by his clairvoyant knowledge recognize that the arrow had come from the invincible first Cakravartin, and would persuade the king to submit.

Bharata is at the left of the picture with the arrow drawn; the enemy king stands at the other side of the picture with shield in hand and sword brandished above his head. Between the two is a smaller figure, which may possibly be Bharata's charioteer, who is regularly mentioned in the text, but seems to me more likely to be the minister who admonishes the king to yield.

PLATE 39

FIG. 130. Fr.81r (cf. Sh pl. VI). The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra. KSsth 1-2 (Jtr 286-287). Mahāvīra had eleven chief disciples (*gaṇadhara*), who founded nine schools (*gaṇa*). The discrepancy between the numbers eleven and nine is explained by the fact that in two cases two of the disciples combined to found a single school. The text gives the names of the eleven as: Indrabhūti, the eldest of the monks; Agnibhūti, the middlemost of the monks; Vāyubhūti, the youngest of the monks; the others were Ārya Vyakta, Ārya Sudharman, Maṇḍikaputra (or Maṇḍitaputra), Mauryaputra, Akampita, Acalabhrātr, Metārya, and Prabhāsa. Of these all but Indrabhūti and Sudharman died before Mahāvīra. When Mahāvīra died, Indrabhūti became head of the order but lived only a month, and following him Sudharman was head. All the spiritual descendants of Mahāvīra today come through the line of Sudharman, and the text (*Sthavirāvalī*) gives the line of pontiffs from Sudharman on. There are, of course, variant lines. The line of pontiffs (*sthavira*) is carried in the text down to Devarddhi, who, according to tradition, presided at the great council of Mathurā, 980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's death (according to the traditional reckoning, A.D. 452 or 465).

The painting shows seated in the center a figure much larger than the rest, who may be taken for Indrabhūti. Across the top is a row of four monks, across the bottom another row of four. At the level of Indrabhūti's head are two other monks, one on each side. Standing beside Indrabhūti, in a posture of reverence, are two monks, evidently not Gaṇadharas. All the Gaṇadharas are seated cross-legged, with the right hand in the gesture of exposition. Each has his broom under his right arm, and on his bare right shoulder a small rectangular object, which may be taken for the end of his mouth cloth. The whiteness of the robes is depicted by white dots on a gold background.

FIG. 131. B17.2278,95 (cf. C 52, pl. XV.95). The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra. KSsth 1-2 (Jtr 286-287). See under figure 130.

The eleven Gaṇadharas are of equal size. They are arranged in four rows, of which the first, third, and fourth contain three each, and the second contains two, the remaining space in that row being occupied by a figuration of the mystic syllable *hrīṃ* (*hrīṃkāra*; cf. C 74, Gl 385, Br 122).

FIG. 132. B17.2277,54 (cf. C 48, pl. VIII.54). The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra. KSsth 1-2 (Jtr 286-287). See under figure 130.

The treatment is much like that of figure 131, but it is the fourth row that contains only two Gaṇadharas, and the remaining space is now filled with the mystic syllable *oṃ* (*oṃkāra*), within which is also the Wheel of Perfection (*siddhacakra*); for these symbols see Gl 384, Br 122.



FIG. 130

23.2.11
Leaf 21, recto



FIG. 131

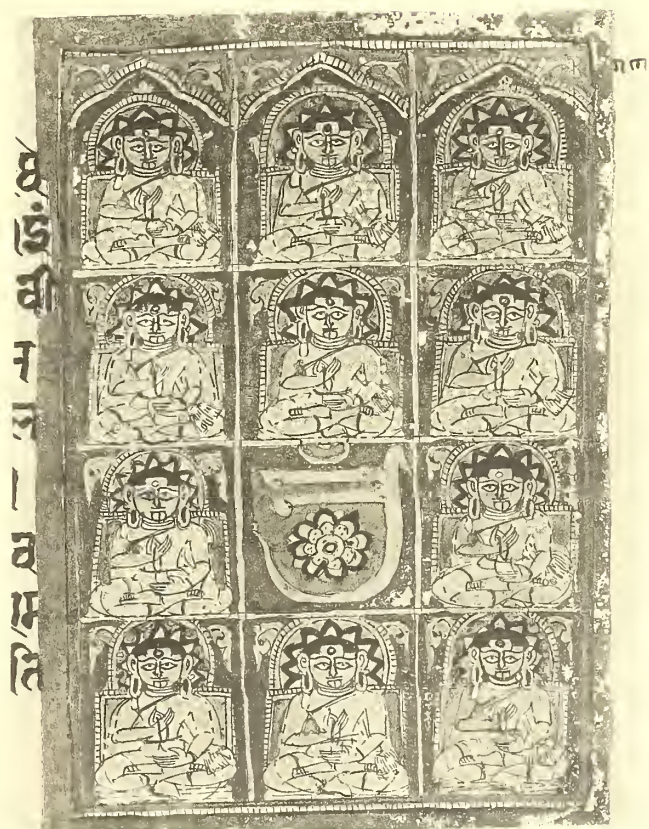


FIG. 132



FIG. 135

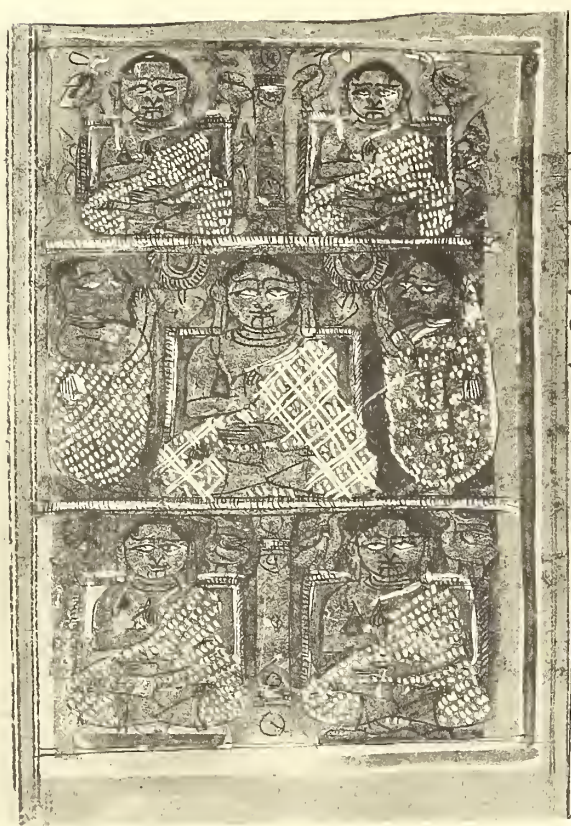


FIG. 133



FIG. 134

PLATE 40

FIG. 133. B22.364,107 left (cf. C 57, pl. XX.107). Five of Mahāvīra's eleven Gaṇadharas (and the nun Candanā?). KSsth 1-2 (Jtr 286-287). See under figures 85, 130.

In this and its companion illustration (our fig. 134) are represented Mahāvīra's eleven Gaṇadharas, accompanied by two other figures, one a monk and the other a nun. This painting shows three tiers, with two monks seated in the upper tier, two in the lower, and one in the central, which last is done larger than the others and is perhaps meant to be Indrabhūti, the senior of the eleven. Beside him stand, on one side, a monk, and on the other a nun, whose sex is evident from the fact that the robe extends up behind her neck and head. Who the monk is I cannot say; perhaps he merely represents all the rest of the monks; the nun might be Candanā, the head of the order of nuns.

Dr. Coomaraswamy (C 57) takes this to represent Mahāvīra with six of his Gaṇadharas, and notes that this number with the six of the accompanying illustration make a total of twelve instead of eleven. He did not recognize that one of the figures is a nun. Further, the legend of the two illustrations is merely *11 gaṇa*, which would seem positively to exclude the presence of Mahāvīra in the group.

FIG. 134. B22.364,107 right (cf. C 57, pl. XX.107). Six of Mahāvīra's eleven Gaṇadharas. KSsth 1-2 (Jtr 286-287). See under figure 130.

This painting is a companion piece to our figure 133, where it is discussed.

FIG. 135. Ha,122v. One of Sthūlabhadra's sisters with the Sthavira Bhadrabāhu (?). Implicit in KSsth 4-5 (Jtr 287-289); explicit in PP 6.1-4, 8.1-193, 9.55-103 (Jpa 41, 50-55, 64-66). The entire story of Sthūlabhadra, his sisters, and Bhadrabāhu is of exceptional interest, but must here be confined only to a summary of the portions illustrated in our miniatures.

Yaśobhadra, the fifth head of the church after Mahāvīra's death, left as his successors Sambhūtaviṣaya (through whom the line of spiritual descent was later handed down) and Bhadrabāhu (the reputed author of the Kalpasūtra, at least of the Jinacarita, the portion containing the lives of the Tīrthankaras). Sambhūtaviṣaya had among his disciples Sthūlabhadra and Sthūlabhadra's seven sisters.

Before conversion Sthūlabhadra had lived in Pāṭaliputra, the city of Patna in modern Bihar, for 12 years with a courtesan named Koṣā. After his conversion, he once undertook as a penance, during the four months of the rainy season when monks must not wander about, to live in the house of his former mistress. Despite her seductions he maintained his vows, although another monk who later undertook to imitate him was easily led astray. About this time Sambhūtaviṣaya died. The king of Pāṭaliputra gave this courtesan Koṣā to a charioteer. Koṣā continually praised Sthūlabhadra, and the charioteer, who thought to win her admiration, exhibited his skill at archery by sitting down in a garden and piercing a cluster of mangoes with an arrow; then he shot a second arrow into the end of the first, a third into the end of the second, a fourth into the end of the third, and continued until he was able to hand Koṣā the mangoes without leaving his seat.²⁰ But Koṣā showed equal skill in dancing. She heaped up mustard seed on the floor, put a needle in the heap and covered it with flower petals, and then danced on the heap without scattering the seeds or hurting her feet on the needle. The charioteer was greatly pleased and promised Koṣā any reward that he could give. But Koṣā replied that her exhibition was nothing wonderful, for it was merely an exhibition of skill acquired by practice, but Sthūlabhadra's deed was of a different sort, for he had subdued the passions. Upon this the charioteer adopted the Jain faith and Koṣā became a nun.

A 12-year famine now came upon the land of Bihar, and the Jain community was scattered. (It was at this time that Bhadrabāhu is said to have led a large portion of the community to the southern part of India, where they made their headquarters at Śravaṇa Belgola in the modern Mysore state, now the chief center of the Digambara Jains.)

During this period of confusion the Jain canon was in danger of being lost. When it was over, the Sangha (community) reassembled in Pāṭaliputra and collected as much of the canon as the

²⁰ A frequent Hindu fiction motif; cf. Br 25, 140.

monks happened to remember, being the 11 *aṅgas*. To recover the twelfth *aṅga* (the *Dṛṣṭivāda*) the monks sent two of their number to Bhadrabāhu, who was then in Nepal, commanding him to join the council at Pāṭaliputra and impart this *aṅga*. Bhadrabāhu could not come, because he was engaged in a vow that would require 12 years of austerity. Eventually the Sangha sent to him 500 monks headed by Sthūlabhadra to learn the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. All but Sthūlabhadra became discouraged by the slowness of their progress, but Sthūlabhadra succeeded in learning 10 of the 14 *pūrvas* comprising the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. By that time Bhadrabāhu's vow had come to an end, and he returned to Pāṭaliputra accompanied by Sthūlabhadra.

Sthūlabhadra's seven sisters, who as related above had become nuns, went to pay their respects to Bhadrabāhu and asked him where to find their brother. Bhadrabāhu directed them. When the seven sisters approached, Sthūlabhadra thought to gratify them with a miracle and transformed himself into a lion. They ran back to Bhadrabāhu in fright reporting that a lion had devoured Sthūlabhadra. Bhadrabāhu told them the truth, and they returned. They told Sthūlabhadra their various adventures during his absence in Nepal, of which the most important concerned the eldest sister. She related how she had been carried miraculously to the realm of the Jina Sīmandhara, where she had been taught four sacred texts (now included in the canon).

When his sisters had left him, Sthūlabhadra went to Bhadrabāhu to continue his lessons and learn the remaining four *pūrvas* of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. But Bhadrabāhu declared that Sthūlabhadra, in vaingloriously performing a miracle, had shown himself an unworthy receptacle of the holy knowledge. At last, on being urged by the Sangha, Bhadrabāhu consented to teach Sthūlabhadra the remaining four *pūrvas*, on condition that Sthūlabhadra should not transmit them. When Bhadrabāhu died, Sthūlabhadra became head of the church.

The painting shows a monk seated on the usual spired throne, and standing before him is a nun, whose sex is indicated by her robe extending up behind her neck and head. The painting has no legend, but seems to belong to the story of Sthūlabhadra. It comes on the same page as KSsth 4, in which the names of Sthūlabhadra and Bhadrabāhu are mentioned, and on the same page is the name of Sambhūtavijaya, Sthūlabhadra's preceptor as well as the preceptor of Sthūlabhadra's seven sisters.

The painting might have any one of three interpretations: (1) it might represent Sthūlabhadra's eldest sister reciting to Sthūlabhadra the sacred texts she had learned from the Jina Sīmandhara. The acquisition of such texts is sufficiently important to justify a painting, but the suggestion seems invalid, because the next painting in the same MS. (our fig. 137), following by three folios, shows the sisters before Sthūlabhadra as a lion, and the reciting of the texts acquired by the nun did not come until after the sisters had seen Sthūlabhadra in his disguise. Or (2) it might represent Sthūlabhadra's eldest sister, as speaking for all seven, telling the adventures of them all. This suggestion also seems invalid, because of the order of events in the Sthūlabhadra story. Or (3) it might be meant to show the eldest sister, speaking for all, at the time when she asked Bhadrabāhu where to find Sthūlabhadra. This suggestion makes the order of illustrations in the MS. correspond with the order of incidents in the story, and it therefore seems to me to be the most plausible. Paintings in other MSS. that I have seen give no help.

PLATE 41

FIG. 136. Fr,85v (cf. C 57, pl. XX.123). Two scenes in one: (a) Sthūlabhadra as a lion in a cave, with his sisters; (b) Sthūlabhadra's sisters before Bhadrabāhu (or Sthūlabhadra). Implicit in KSsth 4-5 (Jtr 287-289), but explicit in PP 9.55-103 (Jpa 64-66). See under figure 135.

In the upper register is Sthūlabhadra as a lion, meant to be in a cave (better shown in fig. 137)—notice the curled tail. Before him stand two nuns, who typify all seven sisters. In the lower register is a monk addressing the two nuns.

The interpretation of the lower scene is open to doubt. It might represent either (1) the seven sisters asking Bhadrabāhu where to find Sthūlabhadra; or (2) the sisters telling their adventures to Sthūlabhadra. The fact that it appears in the painting below the scene of Sthūlabhadra in the lion cave is not decisive; for in paintings containing one or more scenes events in the lower register often precede chronologically those in the upper register. Also, in a parallel painting (B 22.364,123; cf. C pl. XX.123) not reproduced here, the same two scenes appear but with the position reversed. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the lower scene here shows the sisters before Bhadrabāhu.

FIG. 137. Ha,125r. Sthūlabhadra as a lion, with the eldest of his seven sisters. KSsth 4-5 (Jtr 287-289). See under figure 135.

The lion stands before a mountainous landscape. Overhead is a canopy. Only one sister is shown, who would be the eldest; the rest appear in the companion piece (our fig. 138) in the same MS.

FIG. 138. Ha,125v. Sthūlabhadra's six other sisters. KSsth 4-5 (Jtr 287-289). See under figure 135.

This painting is a companion piece to our figure 137, and shows the remaining six sisters. Note the variety of arrangement of dots and lines to indicate the nuns' white robes.

FIG. 139. Fr,86r (cf. C 53, pl. XV.100). The courtesan Koṣā and the king's charioteer. Implied in KSsth 5-6 (Jtr 288-289), explicit in PP 8.170-193 (Jpa 54-55). A part of the story of Sthūlabhadra, see under figure 135.

At the extreme right is a mango tree, the top leaning over to balance the composition. At the left is the charioteer, who is standing, not sitting as in PP, and shooting his bow. Between him and the tree is Koṣā dancing, and below her right foot is the heap of mustard seeds and the needle, which in the story was covered with flower petals but here is clearly visible. At the top are clouds.

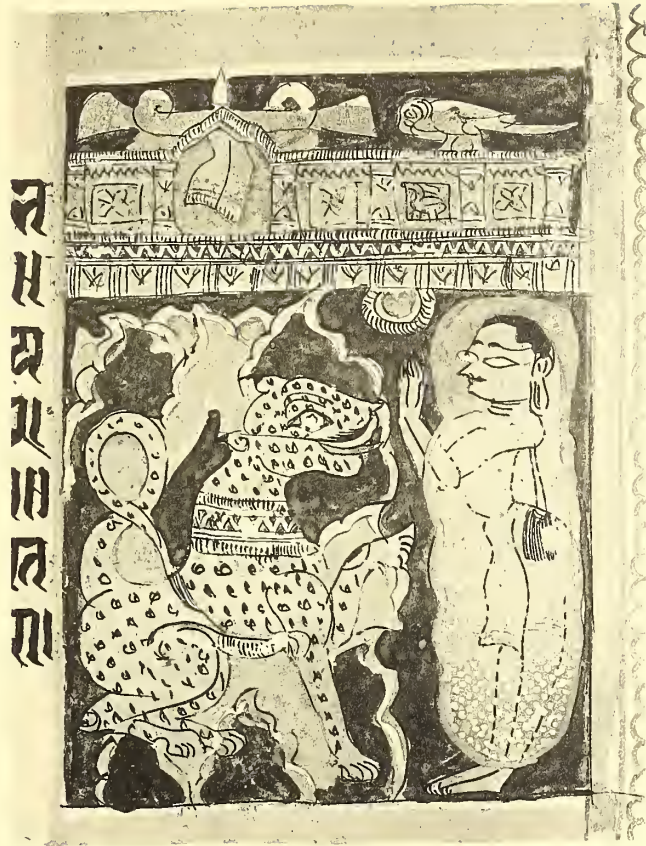


FIG. 137



FIG. 138

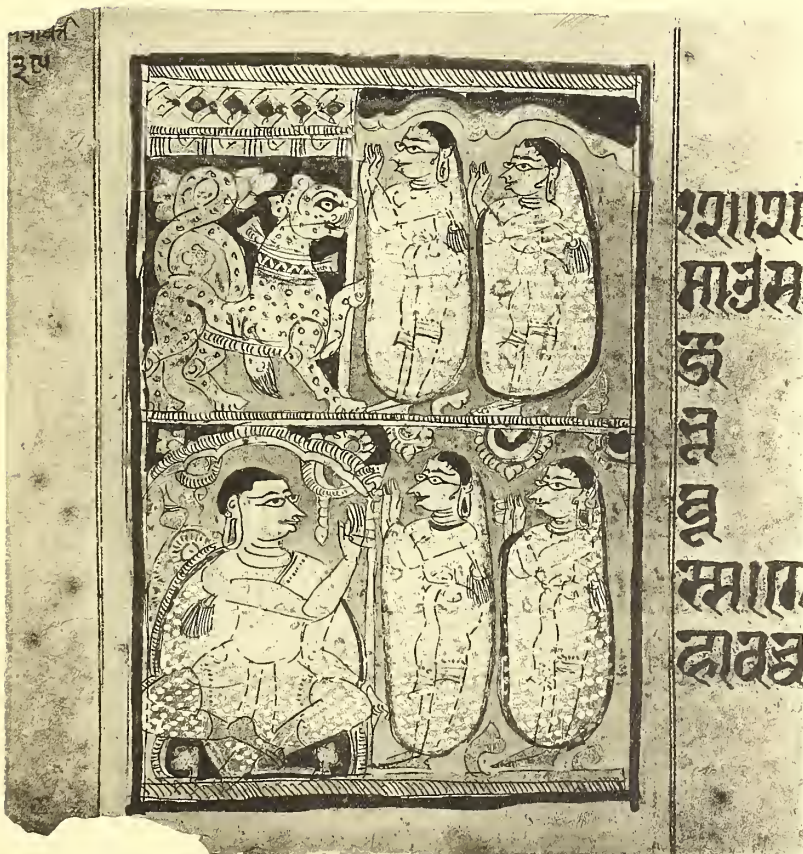


FIG. 136

शाशा
साशस
क
स
स
स्मा
दाव

23. 11. 11
24. 85. 11. 11

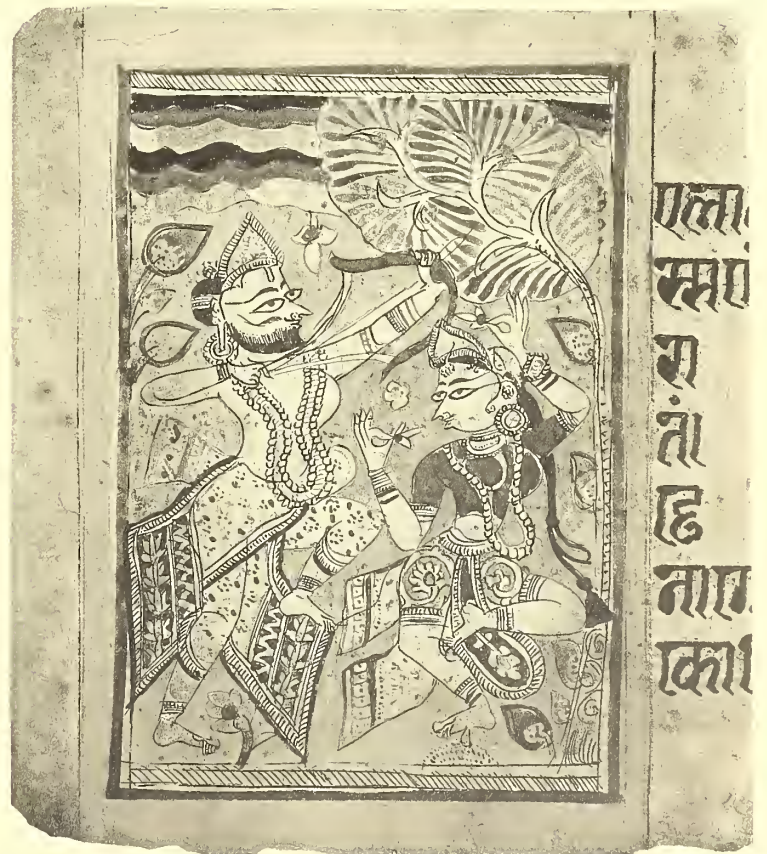


FIG. 139

एता
स्मा
रा
ता
हि
ता
का

24. 85. 11. 11



FIG. 140



FIG. 141

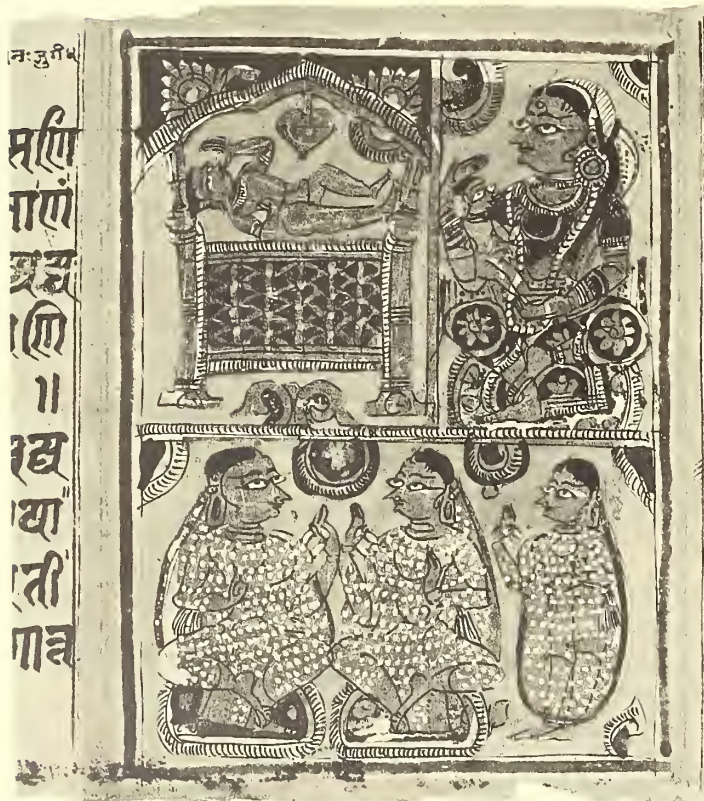


FIG. 142

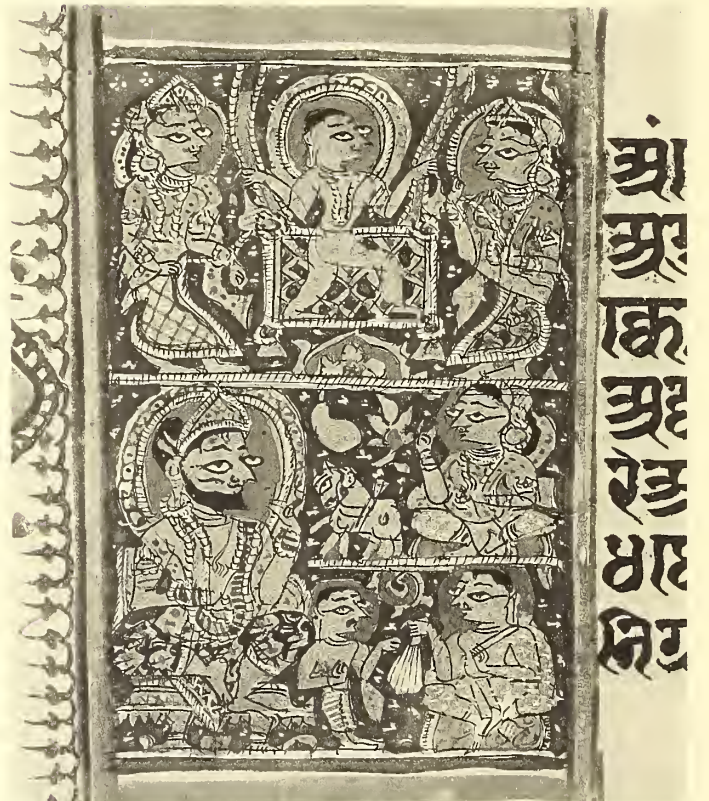


FIG. 143

PLATE 42

FIG. 140. Ha131v. Two scenes in one: (a) Vajra being given to his father; (b) Vajra in care of the nuns. Implicit in KSsth 4, 11 (Jtr 288, 292-293); explicit in PP 11.1-138 (Jpa 71-74). These are scenes from the childhood of the Sthavira Vajra.

The layman Dhanagiri, having vowed to leave the world, did so as soon as his son was born. This son was the incarnation of the soul of a god who had heard the Jain doctrine preached by Gautamasvāmin. The child, shortly after being born, overheard the conversation of some women attending his mother at her lying-in, and learned that his father had become a monk. Desiring to share his father's life, the child determined to tire out his mother's patience by his bad behavior, and no device could appease him. About that time the father Dhanagiri came there with his spiritual preceptor, who allowed Dhanagiri to go visit his former family and told him to accept whatever was offered him. When Dhanagiri arrived, the mother, at the instigation of some relatives, extended to him the child. Dhanagiri accepted it and left. The child was preternaturally heavy to carry and therefore received the name Vajra (thunderbolt). Dhanagiri handed it over to his spiritual preceptor (*guru*), who in turn handed it over to the nuns, and these last entrusted it to the women at their lodging-house. The boy then became a perfectly behaved child. The mother, seeing the change, wanted the child back, but the women refused to surrender it. However, they allowed the mother to come to the house and nurse it. Once when the child was three years old, she claimed it. Dhanagiri would not surrender it. The case was referred to the king, and he said the child should go with whichever one it would heed. The mother tried first, and offered it playthings, but the child ignored them. Then the father told it to take up the broom if it wished to become a monk, and Vajra took it.

In the upper register is Dhanagiri seated at the left, and at the right is Vajra's mother handing the father the troublesome child. The child leaps to his father with eagerness, seeing fulfilment of its desire to enter the holy order. In the lower register is the child in care of a nun (one nun being shown to indicate the entire number). It is in its cradle, which has a back and swings in a frame, the whole being much like cradles today in wealthy homes of Gujarat and Sind. In the paintings the women of the lodging-house do not appear; either the nuns care for the child, or else its mother suckles it.

FIG. 141. B17.2278,98 (cf. C 53, pl. XV.98). Two scenes in one: (a) Vajra being given to the nuns; (b) Vajra in his cradle. Implicit in KSsth 4, 11 (Jtr 288, 292-293); explicit in PP 11.1-68 (Jpa 71-72). See under figure 140.

In the upper register is seated Sihagiri, the spiritual preceptor of Dhanagiri, who has just delivered the babe Vajra to a nun. Vajra is seen in a small circle just below the nun's outstretched arm. In the lower register is Vajra in a swinging cradle, attended by a nun.

FIG. 142. Hd,63r. Three scenes in one: (a) Vajra in his cradle; (b) Vajra being nursed by his mother; (c) the nuns who cared for Vajra. Implicit in KSsth 4, 11 (Jtr 288, 292-293); explicit in PP 11.1-168 (Jpa 71-72). See under figure 140.

In the upper register at the left is Vajra in his cradle, which is less elaborate than those in our two preceding illustrations. At the right is Vajra's mother nursing him, having received the nuns' permission. At the bottom are the nuns who are charged with raising Vajra.

FIG. 143. Hg,110v. Two scenes in one: (a) Vajra in his cradle; (b) Vajra chooses his father and a monk's life rather than his mother and childish playthings. See under figure 140.

For (a) cf. figures 141b and 142a. For (b) see end of Vajra story under figure 140. At the left sits the king in judgment. Facing him is Vajra's mother, who extends a toy horse. Below her is Dhanagiri holding out the broom, for which Vajra is reaching.

PLATE 43

FIG. 144. Hg, 113r. Two scenes in one: (a) Rohagupta and Poṭṭasāla debating; (b) defeat of Poṭṭasāla's magic arts. Implicit in KSsth 6 (Jtr 290); explicit in Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya with Hemacandra's commentary Śiṣyāhitā, part 4, (ed. Hargovind [Das T. Sheth], Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā No. 31, pp. 781-785, Dharmabhyudaya Press, Benares, V.S. 2438 [A.D. 1911]); see also Leumann, Indische Studien, vol. 17, pp. 116-123, Leipzig, 1885.

The reference is to the story of Chaluya (sometimes rendered Ṣaḍulūka) Rohagupta, reputed founder of the Terāsiya (Trairāśika) schism, the sixth great schism of the Jain community, from which the Jains claim that the Vaiśeṣika philosophers draw their origin. He is said to have created the schism in V.S. 544 (traditionally, in Jain chronology, A.D. 17 or 18). On the contrary, there is doubt that this dating is correct, for KSsth says that this Rohagupta was a disciple of Mahāgiri, and must therefore have lived in the third century B.C. The question is discussed by Charpentier in the introduction to his Uttarādhyāyanasūtra, pp. 19-20, Uppsala, 1922. Apparently there existed more than one Rohagupta. For the purposes of our identification of the painting, the important matter is the story traditionally associated with Chaluya Rohagupta.

Near the city of Antaranjikā, where ruled king Balaśrī, was a shrine Bhūtagṛha, in which was the master Śrīgupta. He had a disciple named Rohagupta (note contradiction of KSsth, which makes Rohagupta the disciple of Mahāgiri). This disciple once, when coming from a village to see his master, came to the city Antaranjikā, and found there an ascetic who had an iron band around his stomach and walked with a staff of the Jambu tree. The ascetic said he wore the band because his wisdom was so great that he had to restrain it lest it burst his belly, and he carried the Jambu staff because in the continent of Jambudvīpa there was no one his equal in wisdom. He had a drum sent around the city to offer an open challenge of debate to all comers. Because he bound his belly with a band and carried a staff, people nicknamed him Poṭṭasāla, "Belly-branch." Rohagupta, unwisely failing to get his master's permission, touched the drum and accepted the challenge to debate. Then he went to his master and informed him. The master said he should have let Poṭṭasāla alone, but since he had touched the drum, there was nothing to do but go ahead. This Poṭṭasāla, he said, even if worsted in argument, still had seven magic arts, with which to overwhelm an opponent, namely, the scorpion, the serpent, the mouse, the doe, the female wild hog, the crow, and the *potākī* (for which Leumann says "thrush"; the commentary merely says *śakunika*, "relating to birds"). But the master gave him the formulae for calling to his aid seven counter magic arts: the peahen, the female mongoose, the cat, the tigress, the lioness, the she-owl, and the *uvāi* (for which the commentary offers the doubtful Sanskritization *ulāvakī*; I do not know the meaning). And he also gave him his charmed broom to use in case Poṭṭasāla should produce another magic art. If he would wave this broom over the head of the magic art, even Indra's magic would not prevail against him. The debate was held before the king, and the subject was the number of categories of substances. Rohagupta maintained that instead of the usual two recognized by the Jains, which are *jīva* (living) and *ajīva* (not-living), there was also a third, the *nojīva* (neither living nor not-living) such as the pet cuckoo which has been deprived of its tail. Rohagupta won the argument, and then Poṭṭasāla called on his magic arts. But each was successfully routed by the counter magic art. Finally Poṭṭasāla produced as a surprise the she-ass magic art (cf. Br 4), but Rohagupta waved the broom over its head, and the magic art turned, dinged and urinated upon Poṭṭasāla, and fled. Rohagupta was left victor. There is a sequel in which the master refutes Rohagupta's heresy of the third substance, although Rohagupta refuses to recognize his error.

In the upper part is the king seated on his throne. Before him in attitudes of respect sit the two opponents. Rohagupta is above, and is dressed as a Jain monk; his broom under his left armpit. Poṭṭasāla is below him, and is dressed as a layman. The two are, of course, understood to be sitting side by side.

In the lower part of the painting are several pairs of magic arts opposed to each other. The peahen is at the left with the scorpion beside her. At the bottom on the right are the snake and the

mongoose. Above them are the owl and the crow, and another bird, presumably the *potākī*, although its opponent is not shown. The other magic arts are not represented.

FIG. 145. B17.2277,61 (cf. C 48, pl. VIII.61). A Sthavira. KSsth 13 (Jtr 295). At the end of the KSsth the compiler pays his reverence to a number of Sthaviras, in the last few verses selecting especially Jambu, Nandita, Deśigaṇin, Sthiragupta, Dharma, and Devarddhi.

In a temple sits a monk (probably not a Jina as stated in C 48; cf. folios 48 and 54 from same MS., and our figure 132, where the iconographic difference between Tīrthankaras and Sthaviras is made clear). He holds a rosary in his right hand in a gesture often characteristic of pious Jains in pose today. Around his head is a pointed halo, frequently used with Sthaviras (see figs. 82, 132), and below his throne is a lotus (cf. fig. 82). On the roof are two peacocks.

The painting might represent under a single figure the entire series of Sthaviras, or it might represent the selected group the author chooses to name, or it might represent the celebrated Devarddhi, the codifier of the Śvetāmbara canon (A.D. 452 or 465).

FIG. 146. Fr,94r. Mahāvīra as a Siddha. KSSām 1 (Jtr 296). Mahāvīra taught the Sāmācārī (rules of conduct for monks during the rainy season).

The representation is like that of figures in three other folios of the same MS., nos. 61v, 67r, and 75r, not reproduced here, and appears here merely in connection with Mahāvīra's name.

FIG. 147. B22.364,124 (cf. C 57, pl. XXI.124). Indrabhūti Gautama (?). KSSām 3 (?) (Jtr 297). The Gaṇadharas, of whom Indrabhūti Gautama was the chief, are mentioned in section 3 of the text.

The painting comes in the MS. just at the beginning of KSSām and bears a legend *gotama*, which would indicate that it concerns Indrabhūti Gautama. It could then be understood to show Indrabhūti Gautama transmitting to his followers the rules of the Sāmācārī, which he had received from Mahāvīra. However, the scene is so closely analogous to those of Mahāvīra preaching the Sāmācārī (fig. 150) that it is possibly wrongly labeled in the MS.

Under a canopy sits, at the left, a monk preaching. Facing him are two male figures, the one at the top being a layman, the one at the bottom, who would be on the Teacher's right, being a monk.

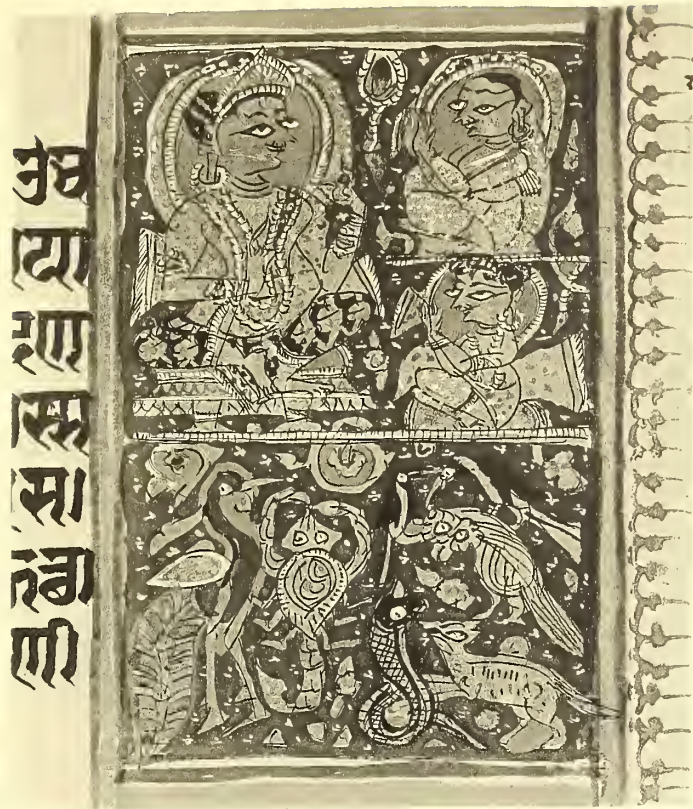


FIG. 144



FIG. 145



FIG. 146 *2330*
Fig. 94, 1910



FIG. 147



FIG. 148

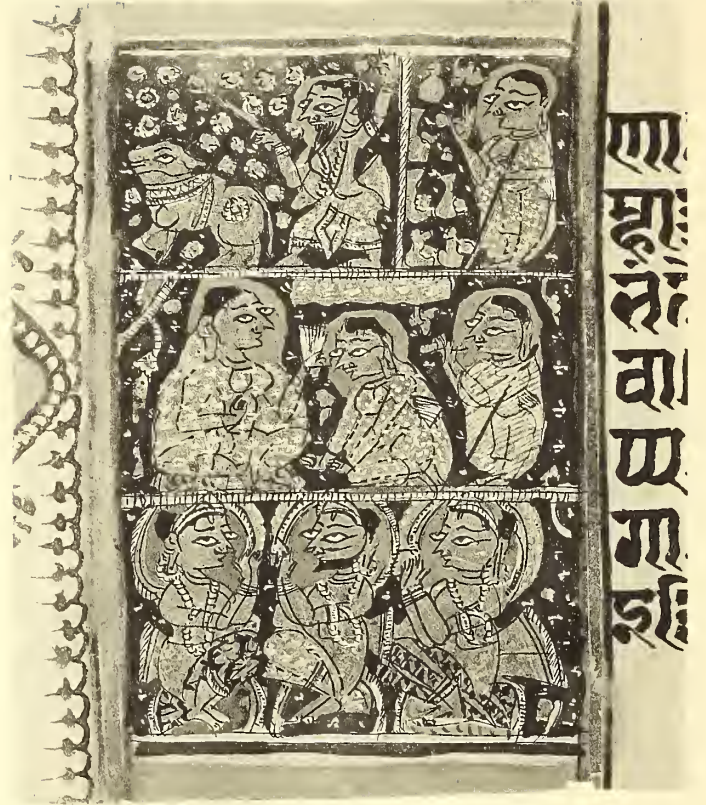


FIG. 149



FIG. 150

23.3
Leaf 108, recto



FIG. 151

23.3
Leaf 109, recto

PLATE 44

FIG. 148. Hg,132v. Two scenes in one: (a) Rules of concourse of monks and nuns during rainy season; (b) rules of concourse of monks and laywomen during rainy season. KSām 38-39 (Jtr 303). During the Paryuṣaṇā it is not allowed that at the same place there should stand together one monk and one nun, one monk and two nuns, two monks and one nun, nor two monks and two nuns. But if there be a fifth person, a male or female novice, or if the place is open to view or doors open on it, then they may stand there together. The same rule applies to one monk and one laywoman, and the other combinations mentioned in the case of nuns. But if a fifth person be present, an elder, male or female, or the other conditions be met, then they may stand there together.

In the upper part of the painting we have the minimum number for monks and nuns; that is, two monks on the left, faced by two nuns on the right—whose hands are in a gesture of respect to the monks, for monks are always superior to nuns—and the fifth person present between them, a male novice.

In the lower part of the painting, we see the minimum number of monks and laywomen. The two monks are at the right, and facing them are the two laywomen. In the center is a novice, apparently female. The text calls for an elder, but the painting does not seem to conform.

FIG. 149. Hg,141v. Monks, nuns, and layfolk during the rainy season. KSām entire, with especial reference to KSām 59 (Jtr 309). While farmers carry on their seasonal occupation, monks and nuns are restricted in their rules of begging and of travel, and are urged to especial care of their conduct toward one another. If there occurs dissension among them, the junior must always ask forgiveness of the superior. During the Paryuṣaṇā there is usually a great deal of preaching.

The meaning of the painting is not entirely clear. At the top is a farmer with a bullock; possibly he is engaged in some agricultural pursuit. At the right is a monk, who is possibly out begging. In the center a nun is seated, while another nun kneels before her apparently asking forgiveness. A third nun stands behind the second. At the bottom are three layfolk, of whom the one in the center is a man. The sex of the other two is not absolutely certain, but I believe the one at the right is a woman and the one at the left a man.

FIG. 150. Fr,108v. Mahāvīra preaching the Sāmācārī. KSām 64 (Jtr 311). At the end of the Sāmācārī it is stated that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra delivered this discourse, called the *paryuṣaṇākalpa*, in the town of Rājagṛha, in the *caitya* (shrine) Guṇaśīlaka, surrounded by many monks, nuns, laywomen, gods, and goddesses.

Mahāvīra sits on a spired throne lecturing, mouthcloth in hand. On a lower seat before him is a monk receiving the instruction. Our figure 151, a companion to this, shows the rest of the audience.

In many variants Mahāvīra sits facing forward in an elaborate representation of the shrine Guṇaśīlaka with spires and semispires, surmounted by a banner, and monkeys and parrots seated on the roof. The Tirthankara may be in full ornament as in a *samavasaraṇa*. An example, not reproduced here, is B17.2277,72 (C 48, pl. IX.72).

FIG. 151. Fr,109r. Part of Mahāvīra's audience as he preached the Sāmācārī. KSām 64 (Jtr 311). See under figure 150.

This illustration is a companion scene to figure 150 and shows the rest of Mahāvīra's audience. In the top row are three laymen (or gods) seated upon cushions; in the middle row are three laywomen (or goddesses); and on the bottom row, occupying seats of the type commonly used today by monks and nuns, are three nuns. It seems preferable to understand the audience as monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen, which together constitute the fourfold Sangha, rather to see in any of the figures, gods and goddesses.

PLATE 45

FIG. 152. Fr, cover. The fourteen lucky dreams. See under figures 6, 18-33.

This is the cover to the Freer Gallery MS. of the *Kalpasūtra*. It is of cloth, lacquered and painted. The cover boards seem to be contemporary with the manuscript and quite possibly were executed by the same artist; note that the textile design of the goddess Śrī's *dhotī* here is identical with that in our figure 18, which is from the same manuscript.

The colors are slightly different in tone. The difference may be the consequence of the different backgrounds on which the pigment was applied. The difference in the reds, again, may be due to the fact that the artist had at his command two different shades of that color (see Br 126). For a reproduction of a page from this same manuscript (Fr) in full color see Br, plate 12 (facing p. 138).



22.2 J.N.
1917

FIG. 152

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(This index is not meant to be complete, and only partly duplicates entries in the List of Illustrations, pp. 5-10.)

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